

Background on the Witchcraft Trials

It is hard nowadays to realize that three hundred years ago almost all the world believed in witches. Religious authorities were the most involved because they were trying to stamp out evil. Southwestern Germany, alone, is said to have executed 3000 witches between the years 1560 and 1680. The Anglicans of England did it, but less so. Thousands were accused during the Inquisition in Catholic Spain, though only about ten were actually executed--by burning at the stake rather than hanging.

The Bible said, "suffer not a witch to live." They believed the destruction of witches was God's command. New Englanders were extremely superstitious and deathly afraid of witches. However, by 1692 most of Europe was outgrowing the idea. The Dutch in Holland and in New Amsterdam looked askance upon the Salem hysteria.

Massachusetts' new Royal Governor Phipps (appointed by the Crown, not elected) was against conviction based solely on spectral evidence, and commanded Lt. Gov. Stoughton that there must be actual proof, not just the testimony of those claiming to have been bewitched or to have seen something in a trance or dream. Then he went off to Canada on an expedition. Stoughton stood to profit materially by some of the convictions, and ignored the order.

By midsummer it became evident that some people were accusing those against whom they had an axe to grind, as a way to even scores. Perhaps they even perceived the accused as evil, and others were looking for solutions for illness or misfortune they imagined witches may have caused. Some of the magistrates were anxious to get their hands on the property of the accused which was always confiscated, often leaving little children with no homes or food. Minister Thomas Barnard of Andover sought to get rid of an older assistant pastor and went so far as to convince some of his congregation they were bewitched to achieve his goal.

As accusations mounted, they started to include rich and powerful people who would not put up with it. John Alden, son of Mayflower pilgrims John Alden and Priscilla Mullen, simply moved to the protection of New Amsterdam. Others escaped to points west, including Sarah (Averill) Wildes' stepdaughter and son-in-law, Edward and Sarah (Wildes) Bishop, Jr. It became clear that justice was not being evenhandedly administered. When Gov. Phipps got back he was aghast at the state of affairs he found. To strengthen his hand, he consulted with the Dutch at New Amsterdam, who told him in writing that it was very unenlightened to accept proof of witchcraft on spectral evidence and they would never stoop to it.

Governor Phipps issued an order that henceforth no spectral evidence was to be admitted. The magistrates were furious but had no choice. When the trials reconvened in January, 1693, they were not able to get a guilty verdict for any of the accused. They made it their business to convict those who had already been convinced to confess, however, with no trials held. The governor promptly stopped the executions, but they and the rest of the accused had to remain in

jail--even those found by the court to be innocent of all charges--until after the bill for room and board plus incidentals at the jail was paid! (In those days, even in Old England, the only way jailors had of making a living, since they had no salary, was from extracting money from the prisoners, themselves. We will not get into the subject, here, of the abuses caused by such a system.) Since the property of the accused was confiscated when they were arrested, most of the fees were paid by friends and family if they could raise the money. A few could not pay and, even though they were declared innocent by the court, they remained in jail until they died. One enterprising prisoner actually arranged with her jailor to have her sold into bondage in Virginia, it being the only way she could get out.

The Witch Trials gave a blow to the Puritan Church from which it has never recovered, to this day. In actuality the Church was simply made an unwitting tool by many of the conspirators, who made a great deal financially; and also by others who found themselves in a position to punish those whom they disliked. Only a handful of ministers had any real involvement, but those who were, were highly conspicuous.

Probably most Puritan ministers were against the trials, especially when they began to catch on to what was happening, though it was dangerous for even them to speak out--witness what happened to Rev. George Burroughs who was hanged and thrown into the same pit as Constable John Willard (the husband of another of our ancestors, Margaret Wilkins who later married John Towne).

Other ministers were simply duped. It seems to this writer that is what happened to another of our ancestors, Rev. John Emerson, who got a very serious blow to his reputation. He was a very superstitious man, which might partly be explained by the fact that his parents, English but of Norse blood, were from a part of England over run and settled by ancient Norsemen who saw a troll under every bridge and forests full of spirits. And perhaps that was behind his well-publicized letter to Rev. Cotton Mather, who had asked him to put in writing his opinion about recent reports of Indians, spurred on by the French, who had caused an alarm in his vicinity. Evidently the Indians had been shot at but missed. Our ancestor said it was because they were not Indians at all, but evil spirits! That is what Mather wanted him to write.

Rev. Emerson was undoubtedly also a close friend of charismatic Rev. Thomas Barnard of Andover, who seemed able to cast his type of spell over just about anyone. They were fellow Harvard graduates. It seems as though both he and Rev. Increase Mather visited Barnard's parishioner, Mary (Lovatt) Tyler in jail. He told her she was certainly a witch and urged her to confess. Naturally he did it in such a way as to attract a lot of attention. He was probably just trying to save her soul and rid the community of witches. Friends like he had, one could do without.

The background page is intended to show the setting back then, in which a tragedy like that could happen to a nice old lady like Sarah Averill Wildes. Less has been written about her than about some of the accused witches, so we want to make the most of what we have. Clara Avery wrote about her in the book, in which she was person #4, but this writer has not seen those pages and may be missing some details.

Sarah's husband, John Wildes (cal620-1708) first married Priscilla Gould (1625-1663) who died leaving daughters Phebe and Sarah, probably others. On 23 Nov 1663 he married Sarah, then 36 years old, who cared for his children and bore him at least one more, Ephraim Wildes (1665-1725). Ephraim married Mary Howlett (1671/1-1758) in Topsfield on 18 Mar 1689, three years before he testified in behalf of his mother. John Wildes also testified.

John Wildes' deposition mentioned his "brother Averill," It would be nice to know whom he was referring to, since brother William was dead and brother Thomas was living in Maine. What happened to John is not known. No marriage for him or any other Averill who could have been a brother has been found, and Averys were also checked. Remember that there were supposed to have been "three whose names are not known."

Looking at the total picture, it is likely that the "afflicted girls" and other accusers "cried out upon" 65-year old Sarah to get at her husband indirectly, rather than because of something she did, herself. Stepdaughter Sarah and son-in-law Edward Bishop, Jr., were arrested the same time as she, though not tried as soon, and managed to make their escape to points west. The other stepdaughter, Phebe Day of Gloucester, the mother of six small children, was arrested in October. (Being arrested that late probably saved her life, but did not save her having to spend the winter, an unusually cold and bitter one, in a dark, dank, unheated, vermine-infested jail--a handy way to cut down on prison population because many did not survive. All this because some calculating people hated her father!)

On page 170 of her book, "The Devil in Massachusetts," Marion L. Starkey describes Sarah like this:

"Sarah Wild was a farmer's wife with a strong sense of property rights; if people borrowed a scythe without her approval, she was capable of flying out at them and then sending a demon to plague them by overturning their hay wagons. Or at least, some of the neighbors so reported. Others testified in quite a contrary direction. The reports of the first harmonized better with the visions of the girls and the present party line of theocracy, and the jury in any case was taking no more chances with acquittals. Sarah Wild, too, was condemned to death."

A warrant was issued in Salem on 21 April 1692 "vs Sarah Wilds et als" for the arrest of several people (including Mary Easty the wife of Isaac Easty, also our relative), Sarah Wilds the wife of John Wilds, Edward Bishop husbandman and Sarah his wife for "high suspition and sundry acts of witchcraft donne or Committed by them Lately upon the Bodys of" various accusers.

On the next page see a literal translation of the court documents in Sarah's case--what remains of them. Writer has stuck mostly to original spellings and phraseology. The only words changed were entirely archaic. They had no letter "s" as we know it, but used the letter "f" so that was changed throughout.

They were arrested on 22 April, the next day, and the frail, elderly Sarah was dragged off and thrown in jail with the others. There was no heat, only dank ground, filth, and noise. She was tried before the second sitting of the court on 30 June, 1692 along with Sarah Good, Rebecca Nurse (an even older relative of ours), Susanna Martin, and Elizabeth Howe. None would confess, but all were condemned.

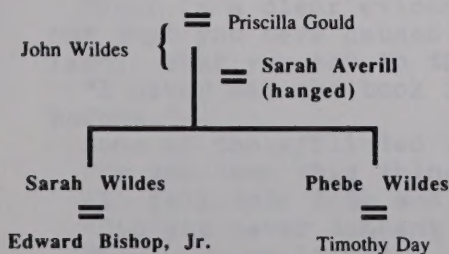
On 19 July there was a long procession through the streets, thronged by onlookers, some high on buildings, to watch the grisly scene wherein Sarah and the others were hauled off to Gallows Hill, and "there, upon trees, their lives were taken." All protested their innocence to the end.

The following year, on 26 June 1693, widower John Wildes married Mary Jacobs, the widow of 76-year old George Jacobs, who was hung 19 August 1692 along with John Willard, John Proctor, and Rev. George Burroughs. They were later thrown into the pit so hastily that one leg was left sticking out.

John thus became a grand father of 16-year old Margaret Jacobs, who had declared in writing that she was threatened with the dungeon and hanging if she refused to confess. Nevertheless, young Margaret's life was spared only because she had an "imposthume" on her forehead (what they thought was a fatal tumor). George, Jr. and wife Rebecca Jacobs were also accused (see Xeroxed pages).

The following chart is from the book, "Salem Witchcraft & Hawthorne's House of the Seven Gables" By Enders A. Robinson. Several other pages from that book which you will probably find interesting have been copied and shrunk to save space, and are included in this report.

SALEM WITCHCRAFT GENEALOGY



Phoebe Wildes, born about 1653, was the daughter of Priscilla (Gould) and John Wildes of Topsfield. After her mother's death her father married, in 1663, Sarah Averill. Phoebe's father was one of the Topsfield men disliked by the Salem Village accusers. In 1679, Phoebe Wildes married Timothy Day of Gloucester and took up life in that town.

In 1692 Phoebe, 39, her husband, and their six children were living in Gloucester on the westerly side of the Annisquam River. On April 22, 1692, her sister, Sarah (Wildes) Bishop; her brother-in-law, Edward Bishop, Jr.; and her stepmother, Sarah (Averill) Wildes, were imprisoned. On July 19 her stepmother was hanged at Salem. In early October 1692, Phoebe (Wildes) Day was imprisoned at Ipswich prison. Phoebe was one of the signers of the petition from that prison in December. There are no further extant court records. On June 26, 1693, Phoebe's father, John Wildes, married Mary (mnu) Jacobs, widow of George Jacobs, Sr., who had been hanged at Salem on August 19, 1692

Warrant vs. Sarah Wilds & als. Salem Aprill. the 21th. 1692.

There being complaint this day made (before us) by Thomas Putnam and John Buxton of Salem Village Yeomen, in behalfe of their Majesties, for themselves and also for severall of their neighbours against William Hobs husbandman, Deliverance his wife, Nehemiah Abot junior weaver, Mary Easty the wife of Isaac Easty, and Sarah Wilds the wife of John Wilds, all of the Towne of Topsfield or Ipswitch and Edward Bishop husbandman and Sarah his wife of Salem Village and Mary Black A negro of Leut Nath Putnams of Salem Village also. And Mary English the wife of Philip English Merchant in Salem for high suspition of sundry acts of witchcraft donne or Committed by them Lately upon the Bodys of Anna putnam and Marcy Lewis belonging to the family of the abovesaid Thomas Putnam, complainant, and Mary Walcot the daughter of Capt Jonathan Walcot of said Salem Village and others, whereby great hurt and dammage hath beene donne to ye bodys of said persons abovenamed therefore craved Justice.

You are therefore in their Majesties names hereby Com-required to Apprehend and bring before us William Hobs husbandman and his wife, Nehemiah Abot Junr weaver, Mary Easty the wife of Isaac Easty and all the rest abovenamed tomorrow aboute ten of the clock in the forenoon at the house of Leuit Nathaniel Ingersalls in Salem Village in order to their examination Relating to the premises abovesayd and here of you are not to faile.

Dated Salem. Aprill 21th 1692. John Hathorne)
Jonathan Corwin) Assists.

To George Herrich, Marshall of Essex: and any or all of ye constables in Salem or Topsfield or any other Towne.

Examination of Sarah Wilds.

The examination of Sarah Wilds at a Court held at Salem Village 1692 by the wop—John Hathorn & Jonathan Corwin.

The Sufferers were seized with, sou the accused came into the Court.

"Hath this woman hurt you?"

"Oh, she is upon the beam." Goody Bibber that never saw her before says she saw her now upon the beam, & then the said Bibber fell into a fit.

"What say you to this, are you guilty or not?"

"I am not guilty, Sir."

Is this woman speaking to ye afflicted? Thay all, or most, said yes, & then fell into fits.

"What do you say, are you guilty?"

"I thank God. I am free."

"Hear is a clear evidence that you have been not only a Tormenter, but that you have caused one to signe the book, the night before last. What you say to this?"

"I never saw the book in my life, and I never saw these persons before."

Some of the afflicted fell into fits.

"Do you deny this thing that is?"

All fell into fits and confirmed that the accused hurt them.

"Did you never consent that these should be hurt?"

"Never in my life."

She was charged by some with hurting John Hemcks mother. The accused denied it. Capt. Howe gave in a relation, and confirmation of the charges before made. She was ordered to be taken away & they all cryed out she was upon the beam and fell into fits.

Salem Village Aprill 22th, 1692. Mr. Sal'l Parris being desired to take in wrighting ye Examination of and Wm Hobbs. Sarah Wilds delivered it aforesaid, and upon hearing the same and seeing what wee did see at ye time of her examination together with ye charge of ye affected persons against her, we committed her to their Majesties Gaol. John Hathorne.

John Wilds for Sarah Wilds.

John Wiells testifieth that he did hear that Mary the wife of Jno Reddinton did raise a report that my wife had bewitched her, and I went to ye said Jno Reddinton and told him I would arest him for his wife's defaming of my wife, but ye said Reddinton desired me not to do it for it would but waste his estate, and that his wife would a done with it in tyme, and that he knew nothing she had against my wife. After this I got my brother Averill to goe to ye said Sarah Reddinton, that if she had anything against my wife, that he would be a means and would help her to bring my wife out, and that the said Sarah Reddinton replied that she knew no harm mye wife had done her.

Ephraim Wilds for Sarah Wilds.

The testimony of Ephraim Willdes aged about 27 or thereabouts testifieth and saith that about fouer yers ago there was som likly hode of my having one of Goody Simonds' daughters and as the maid told me, her mother and father were uerley willing that I should have haue, but after some time I had a hint that Goody Simonds had formerly said she believed my mother had done her wrong, and I went to her & took Mark How that is now dead, who died to the eastward, along with me, and before both of us she denied that ever she had eeny grounds to think any harm of my mother, only from what Goody Redington had said, and afterward I left the house and went no more, and ever since she bene verley angriey with me and now she will reward me.

Ephraim Willdes.

Ephraim Wilds for Sarah Wilds.

This may inform the Honored Court that I, Ephraim Willdes being constabell for topsfield this year and the Marshall of Sallem coming to fetch away my mother, he then showed me a warrant from authority directed to the constabel of topsfelld, wherein was William Hobbs and Deliverence his wife with many others, and the Marshall did then require me forthwith to gow and apprehend the bodys of William Hobs and his wife, which accordingly I did, and I have had sereous thoughts many times since whether my sezing of them might not be some cause of her thus accusing my mother, thereby in some measure to be revenged of me, the woman did show a very bad spirit when I seized her, might allmost be revenge in her face. She looked so maliciously on me, as for my mother, I never saw any harm by her upon any such account, either in word nor action, as she is now accused, for she hath always instructed me well in the Christian religion and the ways of God ever since I was abell to take instructions, and so I leve it all to this honored Cort to consider of it.

Ephraim Willdes

THIRD TRIAL, AUGUST 5, 1692

AT THE THIRD MEETING of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, six more were tried, four men and two women: the Rev. George Burroughs, the minister at Wells, Maine; John Proctor and Elizabeth Proctor, his wife, of Salem Farms; John Willard of Salem Village; George Jacobs, Sr. of Salem; and Martha Carrier of Andover. Not one would confess; all were condemned on August 5, 1692. They were hanged on August 19 with the exception of Proctor's wife who escaped death by pleading for the life of her unborn child.

Burroughs, the minister at Salem Village from 1681 to 1683, had created several enemies there, in particular, the Putnam family. After leaving Salem Village, Burroughs preached at Casco and then at Wells, both towns being in Maine. In his trial he pleaded not guilty. The afflicted girls and some of the confessing witches accused him of being a king in Satan's empire. They claimed that, although he was a small man, he had performed feats beyond the strength of a giant. Burroughs had lost two wives, each by an early death. His second wife had been Sarah (Ruck) Hathorne, widow of the deceased Captain William Hathorne, Jr. The witnesses swore that Sarah had privately complained to the neighbors that their house was haunted by spirits. Cotton Mather claimed that during his trial Burroughs dodged questions and contradicted himself in making his defense. Cotton Mather wrote that Burroughs "was accused by eight of the confessing witches, as being a head actor at some of their hellish rendezvouses, and one who had the promise of being a king in Satan's kingdom, now going to be erected." The "eight of the confessing witches" were Abigail Hobbs, Deliverance Hobbs, Margaret Jacobs, Ann Foster, Mary (Foster)

Lacey, Mary Lacey, Jr., Richard Carrier, and Andrew Carrier. Because of her confession on July 30, Mary Toothaker could also be included in this group.¹⁷⁸

Tried next was John Proctor, a wealthy innkeeper and landowner. While he and his wife were in prison, sheriff George Corwin¹⁷⁹ came to their house and seized all their possessions. The sheriff sold some of their cattle at half price and killed the rest, sending the cured meat to the West Indies for sale. He even drained the beer from a barrel, and carried away the barrel. He emptied a pot of broth and carried away the pot. Nothing was left in the house, not even food, to support the Proctor children. No part of the property was ever returned to the family. In prison Proctor earnestly requested the Rev. Nicholas Noyes to pray with and for him but Noyes refused, ostensibly because Proctor would not admit to being a witch. Proctor asked for a short respite, saying that he was not fit to die, but that too was denied.

John Willard had refused to act as a deputy to arrest some of the accused. Soon afterward he was accused of causing the demise of Daniel Wilkins, a young man who was bewitched to death. The authorities sent men to hunt down and apprehend Willard, who had escaped to Nashaway, about 40 miles from Salem. } our family

The seizure of the property of a condemned witch for the enrichment of the authorities was standard procedure. When George Jacobs, Sr. was condemned, sheriff George Corwin and officers came and seized all he had. Jacobs' second wife, Mary, had even her wedding ring snatched from her; only after great effort did she eventually recover it. She was forced to buy provisions from the sheriff, things that he had taken, for her own sustenance. Still unable to cope, she was helped by the charity of her neighbors. ✓

Margaret Jacobs, the sixteen-year-old granddaughter of George Jacobs, Sr., had been arrested with him on May 10, 1692.

¹⁷⁸ Cotton Mather, *Wonders*, 120.

¹⁷⁹ Sheriff George Corwin was the nephew of magistrate John Corwin and the son-in-law of magistrate Bartholomew Gedney.

The next day the two were examined separately at Beadles' tavern in Salem Town. An onlooker, Joseph Flint, went into the room where the grandfather was held and told him that his granddaughter had confessed that she was a witch. George Jacobs, Sr. said, "She was charged not to confess." When Flint asked him who charged her, Jacobs reflected and then answered, "If she were innocent, and yet confessed, she would be an accessory to her own death."¹⁸⁰

George Jacobs, Sr. was condemned on August 5. On August 18, the day before he was executed, Margaret retracted her confession and received forgiveness from both him and the Rev. George Burroughs. She made the following declaration to the court. There is no mistaking that Margaret, 16, was a person of exceptional courage and integrity.

"The humble declaration of Margaret Jacobs unto the honored court now sitting at Salem, sheweth: That whereas your poor and humble declarant being closely confined here in Salem jail for the crime of witchcraft, which crime, thanks be to the Lord, I am altogether ignorant of, as will appear at the great day of judgment. May it please the honored court, I was cried out upon by some of the possessed persons, as afflicting of them; whereupon I was brought to my examination, which persons at the sight of me fell down, which did very much startle and affright me. The Lord above knows I knew nothing, in the least measure, how or who afflicted them; they told me, without doubt I did, or else they would not fall down at me; they told me if I would not confess, I should be put down into the dungeon and would be hanged, but if I would confess I should have my life; the which did so affright me, with my own vile wicked heart, to save my life made me make the confession I did, which confession, may it please the honored court, is altogether false and untrue. The very first night after I had made my confession, I was in such horror of conscience that I could not sleep, for fear the Devil should carry me away for telling such horrid lies. I was, may it please the honored court, sworn to my confession, as I understand since, but then, at that time, was ignorant of it, not knowing what an oath did mean. The Lord, I hope, in whom I

180 Essex County Archives, *Witchcraft*, 1:90.

trust, out of the abundance of his mercy, will forgive me my false forswearing myself. What I said was altogether false and untrue, against my grandfather, and Mr. Burroughs, which I did to save my life and to have my liberty; but the Lord, charging it to my conscience, made me in so much horror, that I could not contain myself before I had denied my confession, which I did, though I saw nothing but death before me, choosing rather death with a quiet conscience, than to live in such horror, which I could not suffer. Whereupon my denying my confession, I was committed to close prison, where I have enjoyed more felicity in spirit a thousand times than I did before in my enlargement.

"And now, may it please your honors, your poor and humble declarant having, in part, given your honors a description of my condition, do leave it to your honors' pious and judicious discretions to take pity and compassion on my young and tender years; to act and do with me as the Lord above and your honors shall see good, having no friend but the Lord to plead my cause for me; not being guilty in the least measure of the crime of witchcraft, nor any other sin that deserves death from man; and your poor and humble declarant shall forever pray, as she is bound in duty, for your honors' happiness in this life, and eternal felicity in the world to come. So prays your honors' declarant. Margaret Jacobs."¹⁸¹

Pity and compassion were unknown to the court; the justices understood only the hysterical and inflammatory outcries of Cotton Mather and his fellow clergy. Livid with rage, the court scheduled Margaret Jacobs for trial at the next meeting in September. But Margaret was not brought to trial because she was so ill with an "impostume" on her head that it was expected that she would die in jail. She survived, however, and when tried in January 1693 by the newly formed Superior Court of Judicature, she was found not guilty.

The court, determined to convict Martha Carrier, would stop at nothing. On July 22, 1692, two weeks before her condemnation on August 5, her sons, Andrew Carrier, 15, and Richard Carrier, 18, were arrested, imprisoned in Salem, and examined. The Rev.

181 Thomas Hutchinson, "The Witchcraft Delusion of 1692," 402-403.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE ACCUSED, 1692

*✓ all those checked were either our relatives
or connected to them by marriage*

Charged	Name of accused, Age, Town	Fate after Arrest
November 1691	Martha (Barrett) Sparks, Chelmsford. Committed by Lieut. Gov. Thomas Danforth as a prelude to the Salem witchcraft affair.	Imprisoned more than a year; released on bail December 6, 1692
ARREST PHASE OF SALEM VILLAGE WITCH HUNT		
Feb. 29, 1692	Sarah (Solart) Poole Good, 38, Salem Village	Imprisoned; condemned June 30; executed July 29
Feb. 29	Suckling child of Sarah Good, Salem Village	Died in prison in April 1692 from cold and hunger
Feb. 29	Sarah (Warren) Prince Osborne, 50, Salem Village	Imprisoned 9 weeks; died in prison May 10
Feb. 29	Tituba, Salem Village	Imprisoned 13 months; sold to slavery in 1693
Mar. 19	Martha (mnu) Rich Corey, 65, Salem Village	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; executed Sept. 22
✓ Mar. 23	Rebecca (Towne) Nurse, 70, Salem Village	Imprisoned; condemned June 30, executed July 19
Mar. 23	Dorcas Good, 4, Salem Village	Imprisoned almost 9 months; released on bail Dec. 10
Mar. 29	Rachel (Haffield) Clinton, 63, Salem Village	Imprisoned in Ipswich
✓ Apr. 4	Sarah (Towne) Bridges Cloyce, 51, Salem Village	Imprisoned; cleared Jan. 3, 1693
Apr. 4	Elizabeth (Bassett) Proctor, 41, Salem Farms	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; reprieved for pregnancy; released in 1693

Apr. 11	John Proctor, 60, Salem Farms	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; executed Aug. 19
Apr. 18	Giles Corey, 80, Salem Village	Pressed to death, Sept. 19
Apr. 18	Bridget (Playfer) Wasselbe Oliver Bishop, 60, Salem Town	Imprisoned; condemned June 2; executed June 10
Apr. 18	Abigail Hobbs, 22, Topsfield	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; reprieved; released Apr. 1693 after 12 months imprisonment
Apr. 18	Mary Warren, 20, Salem Village	Briefly imprisoned; released as an afflicted person
Apr. 21	William Hobbs, 50, Topsfield	Released 1693
Apr. 21	Deliverance (mnu) Hobbs	Imprisoned 12 months; Released Apr. 1693
Apr. 21	Nehemiah Abbot, Jr., 29, Topsfield	Released at preliminary examination, the only such case
✓ Apr. 21	Mary (Towne) Easty, 51, Salem Village	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; executed Sept. 22
✓ Apr. 21	Sarah (Averill) Wildes, 65, Topsfield	Imprisoned; condemned June 30; executed July 19
✓ Apr. 21	Edward Bishop, Jr., 44, Salem Village	Imprisoned, escaped
✓ Apr. 21	Sarah (Wildes) Bishop, 41, Salem Village	Imprisoned, escaped
Apr. 21	Mary Black, slave, Salem Village	Imprisoned 8 months; cleared by proclamation Jan. 11
Apr. 21	Mary (Hollingsworth) English, 40, Salem Town	Imprisoned at least 6 weeks; escaped
Apr. 27	Thomas Dyer, Ipswich	Imprisoned
Apr. 28	Samuel Passanauton (an Indian)	Imprisoned
unknown	Female slave of Mrs. Thatcher, Boston	Imprisoned
unknown	Mary Cox	Imprisoned; record of irons ordered for her
Apr. 30	Philip English, 41, Salem Town	Imprisoned but escaped

Apr. 30	Lydia (mnu) Dustin, 65, Reading	Imprisoned; found not guilty Jan. 31, 1693; held in prison for fees; died in prison Mar. 10, 1693
Apr. 30	Susannah (North) Martin, 66, Amesbury	Imprisoned; condemned June 30; executed July 19
Apr. 30	Dorcas (Galley) Hoar, 60, Beverly	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; reprieved; released 1693
Apr. 30	Sarah Morrell, 14, Beverly	Imprisoned 35 weeks; "tried and cleared" Jan. 1693
Apr. 30	Rev. George Burroughs, 41, Wells, Maine	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; executed Aug. 19
May 7	Sarah Dustin, 39, Reading	Imprisoned; found not guilty Feb. 1, 1693; held in prison for fees; released March 23, 1693
May 8	Bethia (Pearson) Carter, 47, Woburn	Imprisoned; released on bail Dec. 8
May 8	Bethia Carter, Jr., 21, Woburn	Fled before arrest
May 8	Ann (mnu) Farrar Sears, 71, Woburn	Imprisoned; released on bail Dec. 3
May 10	George Jacobs, Sr., 76, Salem Town	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; executed Aug. 19
May 10	Margaret Jacobs, 16, Salem Town	Imprisoned; released on bail in December; found not guilty Jan. 3, 1693
May 10	John Willard, 33, Salem Village	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; executed Aug. 19
May 12	Alice (mnu) Parker, Salem Town	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; executed Sept. 22
May 12	Ann (mnu) Greenslade Pudeator, 65, Salem Town	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; executed Sept. 22
May 13	Abigail Somes, 37, Salem Town	Imprisoned; cleared Jan. 6, 1693

May 13	Thomas Hardy, Great Island, NH	
May 14	Daniel Andrew, 48, Salem Village	Fled before arrest
May 14	George Jacobs, Jr., 50, Salem Village	Fled before arrest
May 14	Rebecca (Andrew) Frost Jacobs, 46, Salem Village	Imprisoned 6 months; found not guilty on Jan. 3, 1693
May 14	Sarah (Smith) Buckley, 70, Salem Village	Imprisoned over 8 months; found not guilty on Jan. 4, 1693
May 14	Mary (Buckley) Whittredge, 27, Salem Village	Imprisoned over 8 months; found not guilty on Jan. 4, 1693
May 14	Elizabeth (Hutchinson) Hart, 65, Lynn	Imprisoned 7 months; cleared January 1693
May 14	Thomas Farrar, Sr., 75, Lynn	Imprisoned 7 months; cleared by proclamation Jan. 12, 1693
May 14	Elizabeth Colson, 15, Reading	Fled; captured Sept. 14 and imprisoned
May 15	Mehitabel (Brabrook) Downing, 40, Ipswich	Imprisoned at Ipswich prison
May 18	Dr. Roger Toothaker, 58, Billerica	Imprisoned; died in prison June 16
May 21	Sarah Proctor, 15, Salem Farms	Imprisoned
May 21	Sarah (Hood) Bassett, 35, Lynn	Imprisoned; cleared on Jan. 3, 1693
May 21	Susannah (mnu) Roots, 70, Beverly	Imprisoned
May 23	Benjamin Proctor, 33, Salem Farms	Imprisoned "several months."
May 23	Mary (Bassett) De Rich, 35, Salem Village	Imprisoned about 6 months
May 23	Sarah (mnu) Pease, Salem Town	Imprisoned
May 28	Elizabeth (Walker) Cary, 42, Charlestown	Imprisoned; escaped
May 28	Capt. John Alden Jr., 69, Boston	Imprisoned; house arrest 15 weeks; escaped; cleared by proclamation Apr. 25, 1693
May 28	Capt. John Floyd, 55, Malden	Imprisoned
May 28	Elizabeth (mnu) Betts Fosdick, 32, Malden	Imprisoned

LIST OF THE ACCUSED

May 28	Wilmot (mnu) Redd, 55, Marblehead	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; executed Sept. 22
May 28	Sarah (mnu) Davis Rice, 61, Reading	Imprisoned
May 28	William Proctor, 17, Salem Farms	Imprisoned; cleared Jan. 1693
May 28	Elizabeth (Jackson) Howe, 54, Topsfield	Imprisoned; condemned June 30; executed July 19
May 28	Arthur Abbot, 53, Topsfield	Imprisoned
May 28	Martha (Allen) Carrier, 38, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; executed Aug. 19
May 28	Mary (Allen) Toothaker, 47, Billerica	Imprisoned; found not guilty Feb. 1, 1693
May 28	Margaret Toothaker, 9, Billerica	Imprisoned
June 2	Elizabeth (Carrington) Paine, 53, Charlestown	Imprisoned
June 1	Sarah Churchill, 20, Salem Village	Briefly imprisoned; then released as an afflicted person
June 4	Mary (Leach) Ireson, 32, Lynn	Imprisoned
June 4	Job Tookey, 27, Beverly	Imprisoned; found not guilty on Jan. 5, 1693
June 6	Ann (Higginson) Dolliver, 29, Gloucester	Imprisoned
June 28	Mary (Perkins) Bradbury, 75, Salisbury	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; escaped
July 1	Margaret (mnu) Hawkes, Salem Town	Imprisoned
July 1	Candy, female slave, Salem Town	Imprisoned; found not guilty on Jan. 6, 1693
c. July 15	Elizabeth Scargen	Imprisoned
c. July 15	child of Elizabeth Scargen	Imprisoned; died in prison
ARREST PHASE OF ANDOVER WITCH HUNT		
July 15, 1692	Ann (mnu) Foster, 72, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; reprieved; died in prison Dec. 1692
July 19	Mary (Foster) Lacey, 40, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; reprieved; pardoned in 1693

LIST OF THE ACCUSED

July 19	Mary Lacey, Jr., 18, Andover	Imprisoned 10 weeks; released on bail Oct. 6; found not guilty Jan. 13, 1693
July 21	Richard Carrier, 18, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail mid October
July 21	Andrew Carrier, 15, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail mid October
July 22	Martha (Toothaker) Emerson, 24, Haverhill	Imprisoned; cleared Jan. 12, 1693
July 28	Mary (Tyler) Post Bridges, 48, Andover	Imprisoned; found not guilty Jan. 12, 1693
July 30	Hannah (mnu) Tyler Brumidge, 60, Haverhill	Imprisoned in Ipswich prison; cleared Jan. 1693
July 30	Mary (Green) Green, 34, Haverhill	Imprisoned in Ipswich prison; released on bail, Dec. 16
c. Aug. 1	Rebecca (Blake) Eames, 51, Boxford	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; reprieved; released Mar. 1693 after 7 months in prison
Aug. 2	Mary Post, 28, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Jan. 12, 1693; reprieved; released April 1693 after more than 8 months in prison
Aug. 3	Mary (Johnson) Davis Clarke, 53, Haverhill	Imprisoned in Ipswich prison
Aug. 5	Margaret (Stevenson) Scott, 72, Beverly	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; executed Sept. 22
c. Aug. 9	Daniel Eames, 29, Boxford	Imprisoned
c. Aug. 10	Thomas Carrier, Jr., 10, Andover	Imprisoned; Released on bail Oct. 6
c. Aug. 10	Sarah Carrier, 7, Andover	Imprisoned; Released on bail Oct. 6
Aug. 10	Elizabeth Johnson Jr., 22, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Jan. 12, 1693; reprieved; imprisoned 6 months; released Feb. 1693

Aug. 11	Abigail (Dane) Faulkner, 40, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; reprieved for pregnancy; released about Dec. 8
✓ c. Aug. 15	Samuel Wardwell, 49, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; executed Sept. 22
c. Aug. 15	Edward Farrington, 30, Andover	Imprisoned
c. Aug. 15	Sarah Parker, 22, Andover	Imprisoned 17 weeks; released on bail about Dec. 12
Aug. 18	Frances (mnu) Hutchins, 75, Haverhill	Imprisoned; released on bail Dec. 21
Aug. 18	Ruth Wilford, 17, Haverhill	Imprisoned
Aug. 25	Susannah Post, 31, Andover	Imprisoned; found not guilty May 10, 1693
Aug. 25	Hannah Post, 26, Boxford	Imprisoned; found not guilty Jan. 12, 1693
Aug. 25	Sarah Bridges, 17, Andover	Imprisoned 6 weeks; released on bail about October 6; found not guilty Jan. 12, 1693
Aug. 25	Mary Bridges, Jr., 13, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail October 15; found not guilty May 12, 1693
Aug. 25	Mary Barker, 13, Andover	Imprisoned 6 weeks; released on bail about Oct. 10; found not guilty May 10, 1693
Aug. 25	William Barker, Sr., 46, Andover	Imprisoned; escaped
✓ Aug. 25	Mary (Osgood) Marston, 27, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail Dec. 20; found not guilty Jan. 12, 1693
Aug. 25	John Jackson, Sr., 50, Rowley	Imprisoned
Aug. 25	John Jackson, Jr., 22, Rowley	Imprisoned
Aug. 25	John Howard, 48, Rowley	Imprisoned
Aug. 29	Elizabeth (Dane) Johnson, 51, Andover	Imprisoned 5 months; found not guilty Jan. 7, 1693
Aug. 29	Abigail Johnson, 10, Andover	Imprisoned 5 weeks; released on bail Oct. 6
Aug. 30	Stephen Johnson, 13, Andover	Imprisoned 5 weeks, released on bail Oct. 6

Sept. 1	William Barker, Jr., 14, Andover	Imprisoned 6 weeks; released on bail about Oct. 10; found not guilty May 10, 1693
✓ Sept. 1	Sarah (Hooper) Hawkes Wardwell, 42, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Jan. 10, 1693; reprieved; released spring 1693
✓ Sept. 1	Rebecca Wardwell, nearly a year old, Andover	Imprisoned with mother
✓ Sept. 1	Sarah Hawkes, 21, Andover	Imprisoned 5 months; found not guilty Jan. 10, 1693
✓ Sept. 1	Mercy Wardwell, 18, Andover	Imprisoned; found not guilty Jan. 10, 1693
Sept. 1	Mary (Ayer) Parker, 55, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; executed Sept. 22
Sept. 3	Elizabeth (Austin) Dicer, Gloucester	Imprisoned in Ipswich prison
Sept. 3	Margaret (mnu) Prince, 62, Gloucester	Imprisoned in Ipswich prison
Sept. 5	Mary (Dustin) Colson, 41, Reading	Imprisoned; released Mar. 2, 1693
Sept. 5	Jane (mnu) Lilly, 48, Reading	Imprisoned; released on bail Dec. 8; cleared Feb. 3, 1693
Sept. 5	Mary (Harrington) Taylor, 40, Reading	Imprisoned; found not guilty Feb. 1, 1693
Sept. 5	Joseph Emons, Manchester	Imprisoned
Sept. 5	Nicholas Frost, Portland, N.H.	
Sept. 7	Deliverance (Haseltine) Dane, 37, Andover	Imprisoned 13 weeks; released about Dec. 8
Sept. 7	Rebecca (Aslet) Johnson, 40, Andover	Imprisoned 13 weeks; released on bail about Dec. 8; case dismissed Jan. 7, 1693
Sept. 7	Rebecca Johnson, Jr., 17, Andover	Imprisoned 13 weeks; released on bail about Dec. 8
✓ Sept. 7	Mary (Clement) Osgood, 55, Andover	Imprisoned 15 weeks; released on bail Dec. 20; found not guilty Jan. 12, 1693

Sept. 7	Eunice (Potter) Frye, 51, Andover	Imprisoned 15 weeks; released on bail Dec. 20; found not guilty May 10, 1693
Sept. 7	Sarah (Lord) Wilson, 44, Andover	Imprisoned 15 weeks; released on bail about Dec. 20; cleared May 1693
Sept. 7	Sarah Wilson, Jr., 14, Andover	Imprisoned 6 weeks; released on bail about Oct. 15; cleared May 1693
Sept. 7	Abigail (Wheeler) Barker, 36, Andover	Imprisoned 18 weeks; found not guilty Jan. 6, 1693
Sept. 7	Mary (Lovett) Tyler, 40, Andover	Imprisoned; found not guilty Jan. 7, 1693
Sept. 7	Hannah Tyler, 14, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail about Oct. 15; found not guilty Jan. 5, 1693
Sept. 7	Joanna Tyler, 11, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail about Oct. 6; cleared May 1693
Sept. 7	Martha Tyler, 11, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail about Oct. 6; cleared May 1693
Sept. 7	Abigail Faulkner, Jr., 9, Andover	Imprisoned 1 month; released on bail Oct. 6; cleared by proclamation May 1693
Sept. 7	Dorothy Faulkner, 12, Andover	Imprisoned 1 month; released on bail Oct. 6; cleared by proclamation May 1693
Sept. 7	John Sadie, Jr., 13, Andover	Imprisoned
Sept. 7	Joseph Draper, 21, Andover	Imprisoned
Sept. 7	Henry Salter, 65, Andover	No record of further legal action
Sept. 7	Male slave of Nathaniel Dane, Andover	Imprisoned 8 weeks

ARREST PHASE OF RESIDUAL ACCUSATIONS		
Sept. 10, 1692	Hannah (mnu) Carroll, Salem Town	Imprisoned
Sept. 10	Sarah (Davis) Cole, 42, Salem Town	Imprisoned; released on bail Jan. 14, 1693; cleared May 1693
Sept. 13	Joanna (mnu) Brabrook Penny, 72, Gloucester	Imprisoned in Ipswich
Oct. 1	Sarah (Aslet) Cole, 30, Lynn	Imprisoned; found not guilty Feb. 1, 1693; returned to prison for fees; released Mar. 23, 1693
Early Oct. 1692	Phoebe (Wildes) Day, 39, Gloucester	Imprisoned at Ipswich
Early Oct. 1692	Mary (Prince) Rowe, 34, Gloucester	Imprisoned at Ipswich
Early Oct. 1692	Rachel (Varney) Cooke Langton Vinson, 62, Gloucester	Imprisoned at Ipswich
Nov. 5	Rebecca (Dolliver) Dike, 41, Gloucester	Imprisoned
Nov. 5	James Dike, infant, few weeks old, Gloucester	Imprisoned with mother
Nov. 5	Esther (Dutch) Elwell, 53, Gloucester	Imprisoned
Nov. 5	Abigail Rowe, 15, Gloucester	Imprisoned
Unknown	John Durrant, 44, Billerica	Died in Cambridge prison Oct. 27, 1693
Unknown	Henry Somers	Imprisoned at Cambridge
Unknown	Edward Wooland	Imprisoned at Salem
Unknown	Three or four men	Imprisoned at Ipswich
Unknown	Mary Watkins, a young white woman unable to pay her prison fees	Imprisoned, sold as a slave after August 11, 1693



THE GEORGE JACOBS HOUSE.

ABOUT GEORGE JACOBS AND HIS HOUSE

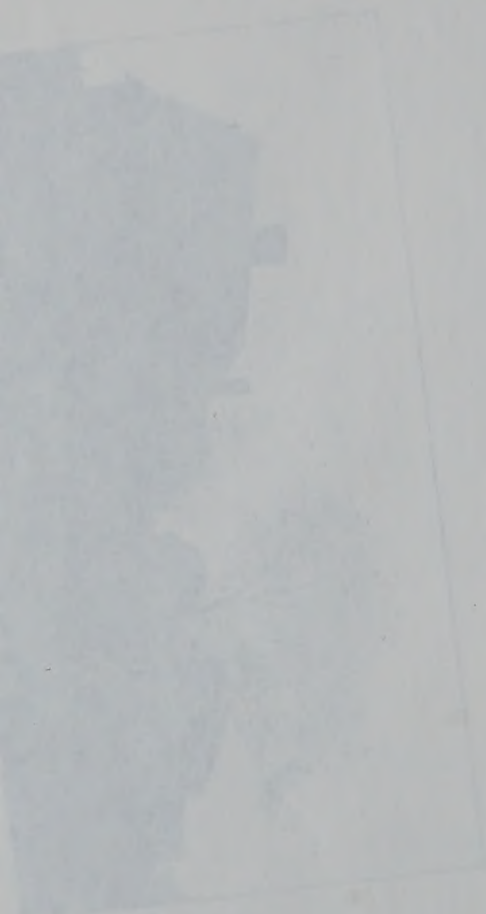
Sarah Averill Wildes, sister of our ancestor Will Averill, Jr., was hung as a witch in 1692. So was 76 year old George Jacobs, Sr. The next year her widower, John Wildes, married his widow, Mrs. Mary Jacobs.

The article by Ezra Hines describes the house the Jacobs family was living in at the time of his arrest--built, incidentally, on land purchased on 11 Nov. 1658 from one of our Dodge family ancestors, Richard Waters.

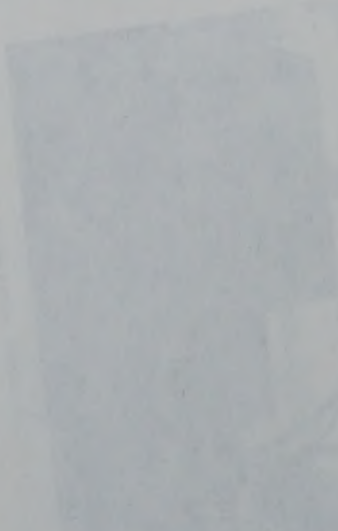
Taken from Vol. I, Danvers
Historical Society Collections,
printed about 1890.



THE GEORGE JACOBS HOUSE. (REAR VIEW)



THESE THINGS ARE NOT TO BE
USED IN ANY MANNER
WHICH WOULD BE
TO THE DISHONOR OF
THE CHURCH OR
TO THE DISHONOR OF
THE NAME OF JESUS
CHRIST



GEORGE JACOBS AND HIS HOME.

By EZRA D. HINES.

READ AT A MEETING OF THIS SOCIETY AT THE JACOBS
HOUSE.

"What can be better worth knowing of any place, than the historical associations which link it with the past."

Nearly three centuries ago our ancestors sought a home in this western world. Many of them landed at Naumkeag, the Salem of today. On every side a beautiful prospect met their gaze. This new found habitation was situate between two rivers, the one on the north called the Naumkeag or North river, while to that upon the south these new comers gave the name of the South river. The land north of the North river, and the land south of the South river, they called North fields, and South fields, respectively.

Some account of the North fields, or North neck, as these fields were sometimes called, will be appropriate. Three sides of this neck of land bounded on a river, while the fourth or western side joined the main land. The river on the south side was called the North or Naumkeag river, the waters of which flowed across to the town of Salem proper; the river on the east side they called Wooleston, across the waters of which could be seen Royal side; and the river upon the north side they called Cow House or Endecott river, the waters of which on its northern side washed the shores of the Endecott grant.

These North fields contained many acres, comprising fields, woods, marshes and pastures green. In 1642, the proprietors of these fields decided to protect them by a four-rail fence, to extend from Cow House river to the head of the North river, across the main land, and a few years later, having granted many lots to the early settlers,—ten acres being a common grant,—the proprietors ordered that each lot be divided from

the other lots by fencing the same, and upon each fence should be carved the initials of the owner's name. Let me now confine my remarks in particular to one of these ten acre lots, into which this neck was divided.

In 1658, Richard Waters of Salem was possessed of a ten acre lot, proven by this fact, that on Nov. 25th of that year he disposed of the same, with a house thereon, for £16, to George Jacobs, a planter, also of Salem. The house it would seem for the price paid, must have been small and rude. The present house undoubtedly was erected not long after the middle of the seventeenth century, and thus has survived the Colonial and Provincial eras and is still with us in these days of the Commonwealth, a building upon which, during a part of the seventeenth, all of the eighteenth and nineteenth and now in this twentieth century the Sun, the great luminary of day, has let fall his early morning rays.

And now concerning George Jacobs, the occupant of this house. When Mr. Jacobs came to live upon these acres evidently in 1658 or 59, he was probably not far from forty-six years of age. His coming here is the first we know of him; he may have just come to this country, or he may have been living in some other part of the colony, earlier. Richard Waters, of whom he purchased this land, had been here since 1636, and perhaps before that time. This fact is evident, that George Jacobs showed good taste in securing these acres, certainly a beautiful situation, sloping gracefully upon the northern side to the river, across which was the land owned by John Endecott, at that time the Governor, having been in that office since 1655. Across the river on the east was Royal Side, and looking away to the north was a hill, old indeed then, the "Long hill" of ancient days.

Upon these acres, Mr. Jacobs lived for many years the simple life of a respectable farmer and God-fearing man, tilling the soil and later reaping the fruits of his labor. He had seen many seasons come and go. As he looked over to Royal side, he may have desired to own some of the fields there, which in later years he was able to acquire. Here was good pasture land, and thither did he send his cows and horses for pasturage, and perhaps, he, as did his descendants, crossed the river at low tide by means of stones laid upon the flats upon either side of the channel, and through this channel he may have waded. It must be remembered that this house was in the early days in Salem, (North fields) and not in Salem Village. All around him were settlements upon five or ten acre lots. Here he had for neighbors, John Tompkins,

Henry Cooke, Thomas Gardner, George Williams, John Small, Ralph Tompkins and perhaps others. Near his house ran a highway to the waters of the Woolleston river. Not far away was the Great Cove, which is still called by that name. Here George Jacobs lived the ordinary life of a farmer, with his share of pleasure and of sorrow, and he was no doubt a good neighbor and kind friend.

Pass over some thirty or more years, after Mr. Jacobs procured this home and came to the North fields to live, and picture the scene. The spring time of 1692 has come, and nature as ever, is bright and gay. The trees are putting forth leaf, and later will come the flowers. It is, however, the last spring time on earth that George Jacobs will behold. He is now an old man, extremely old, he is feeble, too, and supports himself with two canes as he moves about. He has lived beyond the three score years and ten allotted by the Psalmist, having exceeded that limit by ten years or more. His active life is over, and he has now reached a time when he can enjoy rest and quiet, and we may well believe, as he sits in this old home, or walks over the acres of his farm, that the recollection of events in his early life are passing through his mind. Indeed, he is in a retrospective mood; and later, after thinking of the past and realizing that now the cares and toils of life are nearly over,—that past is for the time being forgotten,—and now he eagerly gazes forward with faith and hope into that unknown future, to which his steps are fast tending. He may think that as now his hair is thin and white and upon his brow there is a record of many years' cares, now ended, that it is his time to die; but it was a natural death that he no doubt desired. Alas! how different was his departure from the world!

Such, we may believe, was the condition of George Jacobs when those dreadful black clouds hovered over Salem Village, and Salem, and at last broke in all their fury upon the people; that fearful delusion which we call Salem Witchcraft and into which whirlpool, George Jacobs, without any fault of his, was drawn. A finger pointed to him, aye, several fingers, as a wizard, and this old man was seized, and afterward condemned. On May 10, 1692, there comes a man to this old home. He comes armed with authority, he comes to arrest George Jacobs, Sr., and other members of his family. Mr. Jacobs may have been out of doors somewhere on the farm, or in the old house, but as soon as apprehended, the officer reads the following warrant:

"To the Constables of Salem. You are in their Majesties names hereby required to apprehend and forthwith bring before vs George Jacobs Senr. of Salem, And Margaret Jacobs the daughter of George Jacobs Junr. of Salem, Singlewoman, Who stand accused of high suspicion of sundry acts of witchcraft by them both committed on sundry persons in Salem, to their great wrong and Injury, and hereof faile not. Dated Salem, May 10th, 1692.

John Hathorne }
Jonathan Corwin } Assistants

To constable Joseph Neale."

And this is the return of the constable:

"May ye 10th 1692. Then I Apprehended the Bodyes of George Jacobs Senr and Margaret Jacobs, daughter of George Jacobs Junr. Both of Salem, According the Tenor of the Aboue warrant p me

"Joseph Neale Constable in Salem."

Consider the effect the reading of this warrant must have produced upon this old man over four-score years of age. It takes but little imagination to believe that he must have been shocked, stunned; it seems as though he must have broken down completely. To think that he must go with this man, that he, as it were, almost ready to die, must leave this old home perhaps never again to enter it,—which proved to be the case,—must have filled his mind with sorrow and caused tears to trickle down his aged cheeks. But there was no alternative, he must go, he must obey. He was taken into Salem town for examination. Here he was subjected on the same day to a most rigid questioning. When accused of acts of witchcraft, he replied, "I never did it," and when asked who did it, his answer was, "Don't ask me."

"Why should we not ask you? Sarah Churchill accuseth you, there she is." "I am as innocent as the child born tonight. I have lived 33 years here in Salem."

In answer to another question, he said:

"I never wronged no man, in word or deed."

Near the close of examination, evidently tired, and almost broken down, and yet, never more firm in the assertion of his innocence, he replied, "Well, burn me or hang me, I will stand in the truth of Christ. I know nothing of it."

He is examined a second time on the next day, and soon afterward is taken to Boston jail, where he is confined with others for about six weeks. He is then brought back to Salem, and confined in the jail here, until the day of his

trial before the great court of Oyer and Terminer, presided over by Lt. Gov. Stoughton. He is convicted, and is once more sent to jail, to await the day of his execution.

Something now in relation to Margaret Jacobs, the granddaughter of George Jacobs, Sr., who was arrested at the same time. Her experience while confined in jail was a severe one. In her endeavor to save her own life, she verified the teachings of holy writ, and indeed, while yet living in the flesh, lost her own life. She made a declaration or confession, in which she accused her feeble old grandfather of being guilty of witchcraft. She also accused Rev. George Burroughs of being guilty of the same. How she suffered for this cruel and wicked act of becoming a false witness and testifying against her grandfather, to whom she was so closely bound by those tender ties of relationship and of love! She finally recanted, saying, "I was told, if I would not confess, I should be put down into the dungeon and would be hanged; but if I would confess, I should have my life—the which, did so affright me, with my own vile wicked heart, to save my life, made me make the like confession I did, which confession may it please the honored court is altogether false and untrue. The very first night after I had made confession, I was in such horror of conscience that I could not sleep, for fear the Devil should carry me away for telling such horrid lies. What I said against my grandfather and Mr. Burroughs, was altogether false, which I did to save my life, and to have my liberty, but the Lord charging it to my conscience, made me in so much horror that I could not contain myself before I had denied my confession, which I did, though I saw nothing but death before me, choosing rather death with a quiet conscience, than to live in such horror, which I could not suffer."

Regret as one may her accusations, we must ever hold her in high honor for the withdrawal of these charges. This recantation she read before the court. A temporary illness led to the postponement of her trial, and before the next sitting of the court, the delusion had passed away. She visited Mr. Burroughs the day before his execution, and he freely forgave her, and prayed with her, and for her. It is thought that she may have seen her grandfather on the same day and implored his forgiveness also. Be that so or not, it is evident that her grandfather heard with joy of her conduct, and having made his will on the 12th of August, a week before his execution, he afterward crowded into a space between two paragraphs, in small letters, closely written, a clause, giving her a legacy of "ten pounds to be paid in silver." The will,

however, was inoperative, having been made after conviction. The General Court, however, nearly twenty years afterward, endeavored to have the same paid out of the Province treasury. Margaret Jacobs lived many years after the days of the witchcraft delusion.

And now comes the final scene. It is August 19th, 1692. To the old jail in Salem is brought a cart in which are placed Rev. George Burroughs, John Willard, John Proctor, Martha Carrier and George Jacobs, Sr. Through the streets of Salem moves this vehicle on its way to the hill of execution, ever since, the hill of sorrow. A great number of spectators are present witnessing to their death. Cotton Mather is there strong in the denunciation of these people, and eager for their execution. So are Revs. Hale and Noyes, and many others. All of the accused have asserted their innocence, but listen, ere the fatal moment arrives, Rev. George Burroughs, in the presence of the people assembled, lifts his voice in a dying prayer to his Father and his God, closing by repeating the Lord's prayer, thus proving conclusively to many his innocence, as it was asserted that no witch or wizard could repeat the Lord's prayer. No evidence has come down to us whether George Jacobs, Sr., uttered any farewell, by speech or prayer. Firm and heroic in life, it cannot be doubted, that he was such in death. 'Tis over now, the last act has been accomplished, and the darkness of night has fallen, to cover, for a time at least the wicked deeds of the children of men. No! this was not the final act in this sad affair! There was another and a brighter, which it is well to remember.

Often-times on a summer afternoon, near the close of day, dark clouds gather in the western sky, which, later break apart, and reveal to view the Sun, slowly sinking in the west enveloped in a blaze of golden splendour, so on that dreadful day, the great black clouds then hanging over and about the community, parted, just long enough to show the performance of a beautiful, heroic, loving and tender act—so tradition says, and a tradition that has come down from the past, bearing the stamp of truth. A grandson of George Jacobs, after his execution, took from the place where it had been thrown down, the body of his revered and honored grandfather, and carefully strapping the form upon his horse's back, slowly and sadly, wended his way to the old house and farm, where beneath the shade of the trees which this old man had grown and nurtured, and under the sods, over which his feet had so often trod,—the body was tenderly and reverently laid away,—a loving deed, performed by loving hands.

June 5, 1680.

Book iii. Fol. 132. July 10, 1683.

Deed from Peter Weare Sr. of Neck containing 27 acres on East side of Cape Neddick river in York to Thomas Everell some tyms of Wells (consideration £14), the tract of land lying and being about one mile on the Eastward side of Cape Nuddacke River, beginning on the South side of a small pond of water

July 10, 1683; Also B. v. Folio 109, in deed of Peter Ware of Cape Neddick, 28 day ———, 1687, the land of Thomas Avery of Cape Neddick is mentioned.

Book viii. p. 178. Oct. 10, 1689.

I Thomas Averell of Cape Nuduck in ye Co. of York in the Province of Maine Planter do sell to Francis Littlefield Sen'r of the Town of Wells a certain land commonly known by the name of Tatnack about 6 miles from the Town of Wells two hundred acres

Oct. 10, 1689.

(Signed) Thomas Averell.

(Frances Littlefield was from Ipswich, Essex Co., Mass., as is shown by the next deed to the above in *York Co. Deeds*. Book viii.)

4. Sarah^a Averell, called Averill, Averie, Avery (William¹), was b. probably between 1630 and 1635, and was one of the seven children mentioned in her father's will.

She passed her youth at Ipswich, Mass. Nov. 23, 1663 (*Ct. R.*), she became the second wife of John Wildes (Wild, Wilde, Wiles, Wyles) of Topsfield, Mass., whose first wife, Priscilla Gould (dau. of Zacheus) had d. April 16, 1663 (*Topsfield V. R.*), leaving a large family. John¹ Wildes was b. abt. 1615 (by dep. made 30.11.1677, when he was 62 years of age). He sailed from London, England, by the ship "Elizabeth," in July, 1635. The ship's passenger list included three Wilds; "William Wild, aged thirty (30); Alice Wild, aged forty (40); John Wild, aged seventeen (17):" who came together. Ages were often incorrect in those passenger lists, so that the difference between 17 and 20 years is not of importance.

In 1639 Mr. Wildes took up land with Endicott, Simon Bradstreet and others at what was then called New Meadows, and about ten years later (1648), Topsfield. He became a prominent citizen of that town, holding many important offices such as jurymen of trials in the County Court, etc., as shown

by the published records of the town in *The Historical Collections of the Topsfield Historical Society*.

In these published records his name first appears Dec. 4, 1643: Jo. Wilds (paid) 3s. for serving against the Indians the previous year; and March 25, 1659, as John "Wildes," and not long after we find this entry:

"At a lawful Towne Meeting the 7 March 1684: It is ordered that the timber of the five hundred acres of common lands on the other side of the river which is to remaine common to perpetuity is to be deuided by John Wilds Willm Auereil Thomas Baker & Edmond Towne or either three of them into three equal proportions as two foure and six according to that rule to be deuided. Voted."

Apart from the marriage of his sister Sarah, this is the first association of William Averell and John Wildes which we find recorded; but many others appear later in their common committee work for the public good, as those published records prove.

William Wild or Wildes, John's uncle, settled at Ipswich in 1635. He died in 1668, and as the quit claim deed of Edward Bishop and others, heirs of William Wild or Wildes, recites, William gave his lands to his nephew John, son of his brother John, and said John, deceased, made conveyance to John Harris, locksmith.

The children of John (Wild) in this deed, quit claimed to Harris their interest in the house and an acre of land sold to Harris Dec. 14, 1685. Apr. 15, 1690, John "Wills" and Sarah Wilds witnessed the will of Sarah's brother William Averell; and June 30, 1690, they both made oath in Court at Salem that they were the said witnesses (See Will, pp. 86 and 87), and saw him sign the will. The following year, in the month of March, 1692, in the Village of Salem (now Danvers), came the climax in New England of those incredible delusions which Cotton Mather called "a prodigious possession of devils, which it was then generally thought had been by witchcraft introduced;" and Sarah Averell Wildes became one of the first victims of the accusations made at that time.

The belief in witchcraft was prevalent everywhere in Europe as well as in America at this time; and sporadic cases were recorded in New England from 1648 down to this "Salem

Witchcraft" period, and later in the Southern portion of our country.

With few exceptions the most eminent men, in both countries, believed in the reality of these evidences of supernatural power, and credited much of the testimony rendered in witchcraft cases. Therefore when the flame kindled in Salem Village the majority of people of all classes accepted the phenomena as evidences of Satanic influence, even if they believed many of the accusations unjust or without grounds.

It is believed that the chief instigator of these tragic experiences was a West Indian slave woman by the name of Tituba (or Titchuba) who belonged to the Minister of Salem Village, Mr. Samuel Parris; and that she initiated some of the Minister's household—the young people and their friends and neighbors—into her voodoo necromancy. The results of their intimate association amazed and terrified not only the Minister, but the whole neighbourhood; and the young people, affected by her instructions, accused of witchcraft not only their Indian leader in mischief, Tituba, but also Sarah Good and Sarah Osburn, all of Salem Village.

Warrants were at once issued for their arrest on Feb. 29, 1692; and they were all examined before the Magistrates of Salem Village Mar. 1, 1692, and sent to the jails in the County of Essex. The "afflicted children" who claimed to be bewitched by the accused were Elizabeth Parris Jr. (nine years of age) dau. of the minister; Abigail Williams, a niece of Mr. Parris and a member of his household (eleven years of age); Ann Putnam Jr. (twelve years of age); Elizabeth Hubbard (seventeen years of age). All of these it is believed had become the only too apt pupils of Tituba during the winter of 1691-2, between the first of December and last of February.

On March 12, 1692, Mrs. Martha Corey, a woman of unusual mental equipoise and excellence of character, was accused, and a warrant for her arrest issued March 19. On March 23, a warrant was issued for the arrest of Mrs. Rebecca Nurse, a noble and highly esteemed woman; immediately after a tiny child of four or five years, Dorcas or Dorothy, dau. of Sarah Good, was accused, and a warrant issued for her apprehension; and she like all the others was committed to jail.

April 4, Mrs. Sarah Cloyse and Mrs. Elizabeth Proctor were accused and tried April 11, before a Council held at Salem with deputy-governor Thomas Danforth Esq. present, instead of two Magistrates. Abigail Williams, Ann Putnam, Mercy Lewis and Mrs. Bubber witnessed against one or both of them; Benjamin Gould testified against "Goodman Corey and his wife, Procter and his wife, Goody Cloyse, Goody Nurse and Goody Griggs."

"The transaction now became a Massachusetts affair," says Upham in his *History of Salem Witchcraft*.

"The 18 of April warrants were out against Giles Corey and Mary Warren both of Salem Farms, Abigail Hobb (dau. of William Hobbs, of Topsfield), and Bridget Bishop, wife of Edward Bishop of Salem;" they were committed to prison, and two days after, April 21, warrants were issued against William Hobbs and Deliverance his wife; Nehemiah Abbott, Jr., Mrs. Mary Easty, wife of Isaac Easty, and Mrs. Sarah Wilds, the wife of John Wilds, all of the town of Topsfield or Ipswich; and Edward Bishop and Mrs. Sarah Bishop his wife (dau. of John Wilds of Topsfield), of Salem Village, and Mary Black a negress of the Village, and Mrs. Mary English, wife of Philip English of Salem.

Our Sarah Averell Wildes found herself in an elect company and proved herself by her patience, fortitude, and Christian virtues quite worthy her companions, she at no time weakening or retracting her first denial of guilt and affirmation of innocence, and meeting her dreadful end in a way that elicited no hostile public comments from those who were only too willing to see evil in all the accused.

It is now known that many of the accused belonged to the better classes instead of the lowest as first thought. Six of those accused April 21, belonged to good families of Topsfield. Mrs. Easty's husband and Mrs. Wildes' husband were associated in the affairs of that town and in connection with the division line between it and Salem in 1686. Mr. Hobbs and Mr. Abbot were old residents of the place. Mrs. Wildes' son, Ephraim, was filling the then very important office of Constable of Topsfield. Sarah Wildes Bishop was his step-sister

The General Description

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the train was the cold. It was a sharp, biting cold that seemed to penetrate my coat. I shivered as I walked towards the station entrance, my hands tucked into my pockets. The air was thick with the scent of coal and the distant hum of machinery.

I had heard that the weather in the north was harsh, but I didn't realize just how cold it would be. The wind whistled through the trees, carrying with it the promise of a long, hard winter. I pulled my coat tighter around me and continued on my way.

The streets were empty, the houses dark and silent. It was a strange, lonely feeling that came over me as I walked. I had come here for a new life, but it felt like I was stepping into a world that was already dead.

I had heard that the people in the north were friendly, but I didn't realize just how isolated they were. The houses were small and close together, but the streets were wide and empty. It was a strange, lonely feeling that came over me as I walked.

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and therefore the step-daughter of Mrs. Wildes (Jonathan Bishop, son of the above Sarah Bishop, m. about 1699 Abigail Averell, the niece of Sarah Averell Wildes and dau. of William Averell of Topsfield). As Mrs. Nurse and Mrs. Cloyce were sisters of Mrs. Easty, in so limited a town as Topsfield they must have been well known to Mrs. Wildes, apart from her knowledge of Salem Village people through her daughter-in-law's residence there. Upham also implies a relationship between either Sarah Averell Wildes or Sarah Wildes Bishop and Rebecca Nurse which we have not yet been able to verify or disprove. Mrs. Bridget Bishop was of course well known to Mrs. Wildes as being the step-mother of Edward Bishop. Elizabeth How, wife of James How, Jr., of Ipswich, was the daughter of William and Joan Jackson of Rowley and prob. related to Sarah Averell Wild's sister-in-law, Hannah Jackson, wife of William² Averell.

Upham (from whose *Salem Witchcraft* most of the above data has been taken) believed that back of this terrible "possession" of evil spirits lay the years of feud between Ipswich, Topsfield and Salem, relative to Salem Village boundaries; and a disagreement relative to the two Salem Village ministers, Mr. George Burrows and Mr. Samuel Parris. In the light of our time, 1907, it might be attributed,—according to one's belief,—to suggestion, hypnotism, or "malicious animal magnetism." The results were a blot upon that period of our Colonial History, however we may account for it. This epidemic lasted about six months before the reaction came. During that period twenty persons suffered death, fifty-four were tortured or frightened into a confession of witchcraft; and when a special Court convened Oct., 1699, one hundred and fifty accused persons were still in prison. Sarah Wildes, wife of John Wildes, was arrested Apr. 22, 1692, on a warrant issued the day before.

John Buxton and Thomas Putnam went down to Salem from the Village on the 21st and complained of Mrs. Wildes to the justices. The justices issued their warrant to Marshal Herrick to arrest her and bring her to Lieut. Nathaniel Ingersoll's.

It has been said that her own son had to arrest her, but Nevins states that the Marshall of Salem served the warrant

on Sarah Wildes and that young Wildes arrested Mr. Hobbs and his wife. The testimony of her son shows, that according to his belief, Mr. and Mrs. Hobbs, after being seized by Constable Wildes, accused his Mother in revenge for his legal action. She and the others, arrested on the 22nd, were brought in to Lieut. Ingersoll's before the magistrates, examined, committed for trial, and condemned.

We give only abstracts from the records as published by Ira Hutch which are almost literally as they appear in the *Record of Salem Witchcraft* copied from the *Original Records*, by W. Elliot Woodward, 1864, although Hutch's copy was made in 1859.

In these records it will be seen that Sarah Wildes' husband and child said only good of the beloved wife and mother, and that they tried their best to save her.

(For other records of the trial, see *The Wildes Family of Essex Co., Mass.*, by Walter Davis, Jr., in *The Essex Institute Hist. Colls.* Vol. xlii, pp. 137-143 inc., April, 1906.)

It may be well to insert here the following testimony of John Wilds as it refers to Sarah Averill Wildes' brother, and also the testimony of her son Ephraim (Ira Hutch's *Salem Witchcraft*, p. 204).

"John Wilds testifieth that he did hear yt Mary the wife of Jno Reddington did raise a report yt my wife had bewitched her and I went to ye said Jno Reddington & told him I would arrest him for his wife defaming of my wife but ye said Reddington desired me not to do it for it would but waste his estate and yt his wife would be a donee in it tyme and yt he knew nothing she had against my wife . . . after this I got my brother Averill to go to ye said Sarah Reddington & my sd Bro^r told me yt he told ye said Sarah Reddington yt if she had anything ag^t my wife yt he would be a means and would help her to bring my wife out; but yt ye said Sarah Reddington replied yt she knew no harm my wife had done her." (The year and month that John Wildes' "brother Averill" spoke to Sarah Reddington does not appear in said document. But William Averell died April 23, 1691, and as the accusation of Sarah was after that date, the brother Averell was undoubtedly her brother Thomas Averell of Wells or York, Me.)

Salem Witchcraft, continued

The Testimony of Ephraim Wildes aged about 27 or thereabouts testifieth and saith that about four years a goe there was some likly hode of my having one of Goody Simonds dafter and as the maid towld me hur

mother and father were verily willing I should have haue but after some time I had a hint that Goodey Simonds had formerly said she believed my Mother had done her wrong and I went to hare and tock Marke how that is now dead who dyed at the Eastward along with me, and before both of us She denied that euer she had ensey grounds to think enley halme of my Mother only from what Goodiey Redington had saide and afterwards I left the house and went no more and euer since she bene veriey angry with me and now she will reward me.

Ephraim Wildes

(Office Clerk of Courts Essex Co., Salem, Mass. The foregoing is a true copy of Original on file in this office. Attest Clerk.) p. 205.

This may inform this Honored Court that I Ephraim Wildes being Constable for Topsfield this yere and the Marshall of Sallem coming to fetch away my Mother he then shurd me a warrant from Authority directed to the Constable of topsfield wherein was William Hobbs and Deliuence his wife with many others and the Marshall did then require me forthwith to go and apprehend the bodyes of William hobs and his wife which accordingly I did and I have had serous thoughts many times sence whether my seing of them might not be some case of here thus accusing my Mother thereby in some measure to be revenged of me the woman did show a veriey bad spirit when sated. we might all most se revenge in her face she looked so malisheosly on mee As fore my Mother I never saw any harm by har upon anyey such a cont neither in word nor action as she is now accused for.

She hath awlways instructed me well in the Christian religion and the wais of God euer sence I was abell to take instruction And so I leve it all to this honor cort to consider of it. Ephraim Wildes

(Office Clerk of Courts Essex Co., Salem, Mass. The foregoing is a true copy of original on file in this office. Attest Clerk.)

(Death Warrant.) p. 498.

Warrant of Execution of Sarah Good, Rebecca Nurse, Elis. How, Susanna Martin & Sarah Wildes. On Tuesday 19 July 1692.

(Office Clerk of Courts Essex County, Mass. The foregoing is a true copy of original on file in this office. Attest Clerk.)

Salem May 13th

Went May 13th to Boston

1 George Jacobs Sen ^r	6 Bridget Bushop alias Oliver
2 Gilles Cory	7 Sarah Wild
(3 W ^m Hobs)	8 Mary L Nath putnam's negro
4 Edw ^d Bushop	9 Mary English
5 Sarah Bushop his wife	10 Alice parker

11 Ann pudester.

Woodward's *Salem Witchcraft*: p. 215 (?).

Reversal of Attainder October 17, 1711.

Province of the Massachusetts Bay.

Anna Regni · Anna Regina Decima.

An Act to reverse the attainders of George Burrough and others for Witchcraft. (Includes the names of "Mary Eastey Sarah Wild, and Abigail Hobbs all of Topsfield") Essex Dec. 1711.

Upham's *Salem Witchcraft*.

Vol. II, p. 268. "The Court met again on Wednesday, the 29th of June (1692), and after trial, sentenced to death Sarah Good, Sarah Wildes, Elizabeth How, Susanna Martin, and Rebecca Nurse, who were all executed on the 19th of July" (1692).

Vol. II, p. 480. "On the 17th of December, 1711, Governor Dudley issued his warrant for the purpose of carrying out a vote of the "General Assembly"; by and with the advice and consent of Her Majesty's Council, to pay the sum of £578, 12s. to each persons as are living, and to those that legally represent them that are dead; which sum was divided as follows:

(A list of 21 names, with the addition of wives of three men.) Among those mentioned were:

Rebecca Nurse	25.0.0.
Mary Easty	20.0.0.
Sarah Wildes	14.0.0.
Elizabeth How	12.0.0.

"The distribution . . . is as unjust and absurd as the smallness of the amount, and the long delay before it was ordered are discredit-able to the province." The public mind evidently was not satisfied and the Legislature was pressed for a half century to make more adequate compensation and thereby vindicate the sentiment of justice and redeem the honor of the province."

Drakes' *Annals of Witchcraft in New England* (1869), p. 199, gives the following:

Sarah, wife of John Wildes of Topsfield was executed on the 19th of July having with four others been condemned on the 30th of June preceding. She was arrested about the 22nd of April and imprisoned till her execution.

The Gruff Denunciations and Demands to confess of the Court did not move her, and she died firmly denying all knowledge of the crime for which she suffered.

She was hanged with Rebecca Nurse and others on Gallows Hill in Salem.

Woodward's *Records* state that, Ephraim Wild son of "Sara" Wild, was paid the sum allowed by the Court to his

Mother's heirs £28.9.1711, at Ipswich (Court?), the sum being that previously stated, £14.0.0.

Upton says that the examination of Sarah Wilde had no peculiar features—"She maintained her innocence with dignity and firmness; and the Magistrate prejudging the case against her rebuked her obstinacy in not confessing, in his accustomed manner.

(The "widdow pudeator," was Mrs. Ann Pudeator of Salem, widow of Mr. Jacob Pudeator, who was her second husband.

Her first husband, Mr. Greenslett, or Greensleet, had died, leaving her with five children, among whom was a son, Thomas Greenslett, and probably John, who are said to have been living in Casco Bay (Portland), Me., in 1692.

Thomas testified relative to Mr. Geo. Burrows, who had been executed; and he also was with his Mother during her trial and when she suffered the death penalty. (See *Upham* pp. 298, 329.)

She was probably about 70 years of age at the time of her death, and a woman of position and property, owning two estates in Salem on the North line of the Common. Her second husband, Mr. Jacob Pudeator ("Pud-e-tor"), or Poindexter, d. 1682 and by will gave her his whole estate after the payment of legacies of £5 to each of her Greenslett Children.

She was regarded with affection and esteem. It is probable that John Averell married her granddaughter, as he was m. June 8, 1710, to an Ann Greenslett, who has not yet been connected by any positive proof with any one of the name; these being the only Greensletts known to us at this period, unless the wife of James Avery of Groton, Conn., and formerly of Gloucester, Mass., was also of this family.—Ed.)

PHILIP ENGLISH AND HIS WIFE.

Vol. xi, p. 133. The next victim of those arrested on the 21 (Apr. 1692), was Sarah Wildes. She too was of Topsfield and like Mrs. Easty behaved with all the firmness and dignity of innocence at her examination. (See *Acrt.*)

Sarah Wildes, like Mrs. Easty, was condemned and executed. She was one of the eleven sent to Boston jail on the 13. May (—), and in company with Mrs. English.

John Wildes by his wife Sarah² (Averell) Wildes had but one child:

Child:

- i. **EPHRAIM¹ WILDES**, b. ——— 1665, at Topsfield; m. March 18, 1682-3, to Mary Howlett.

MEMORANDA.

The children of John Wilde by his first wife, Priscilla Gould were:

- i. **JOHN¹**, b. 16—; lived at Topsfield; was a soldier; made his will Oct. 22, 1676, when going into the army, and in that document mentioned his five sisters and one brother, namely: Sarah (w. of Edward Bishop); Elizabeth (w. of Benjamin Jones); Phoebe (w. of Timothy Day); Priscilla (w. of Henry Lake); Martha He d. before 1677. (Will Essex Co. Probate.)
- ii. **SARAH¹**, b. between 1648-56; m. before 1685. Edward Bishop of Salem.
- iii. **ELIZABETH¹**, b. betw. 1648-56; m. Benj. Jones of Gloucester.
- iv. **PHOEBE¹**, b. betw. 1648-56; m. Timothy Day of Gloucester.
- v. **PRISCILLA¹**, b. Apr. 6, 1658, at Topsfield; m. May 9, 1681, Henry Lake of Topsfield.
- vi. **MARTHA¹**, b. May 13, 1660, at Topsfield.
- vii. **NATHAN¹**, b. Dec. 14, 1662, at Topsfield; d. Mar. 17, 1682-3, at Topsfield.

(See *T. H. C.*)

Ephraim² Wildes (Sarah Averell¹, William¹), b. 1665, at Topsfield, Mass., m. Mar. 18, 1689 (*Ch. R.*), Mary Howlett² (dau. of Samuel Howlett¹ of Topsfield, and Sarah Clarke¹ his wife), prob. the Mary b. Feb. 17, 1671 (-2), *Ch. R.* at Topsfield (*V. R.*). "He served his father seven years, probably as an apprentice, after which he received all the Wildes Estate in Topsfield," both of his brothers having died many years before. He was Constable of Topsfield in 1692, when his Mother was accused of Witchcraft (see p. 110), and testified twice on her behalf, stating that she had always instructed him well in the Christian religion and the ways of God ever since he was able to take instruction. (When the passion and blindness of that

* Data given by W. G. Davis of Portland, Me., 1899.

† See *T. H. C.* (pub.): *The Howletts and Clarke*, Vol. xi, p. 53.

On the 19. of July (1692), Mrs. Wilds was executed in company with Sarah Good, Rebecca Nurse of Salem, Elizabeth How of Ipswich and Susanna Martin of Amesbury.

Ipswich in the Mass. Bay Colony, by Thomas Franklin Waters, p. 296, gives the bill of Robert Lord, the blacksmith of Ipswich, "for making fouer payer of Iron fetters and tow payer of hand Cuffs and putting them on to ye legs and hands of Goodwife Cloys, Estes, Bromidg and Green all att one pound

£ s d
eleven Shillings Money. 1 - 11 - 0. Rob^t Lord, Smith (July, 1692).

The same page gives the account of John Harris, the Deputy-Sheriff, "of Sondry Charges at ye Courts of Irau terminar held at Sallem in ye yere 1692."

Among the items is the following: lb. s. d.

"for pressing of hores & man to gard me with.
ye wife of John Wildes & ye widdow pudeator from
Ipswich to Salem myself & gard. 9 - 6 - "

No other facts have come to our knowledge about the late life of Sarah Wildes. She lived over thirty years in Topsfield as the wife of John Wildes, who survived her several years, he dying in 1705. For several years he was called affectionately "old father Wildes," even while strong enough to continue his services to the town with whose history he was so closely identified. His eldest son John had died many years before, and his son Ephraim had attained to a position of influence and importance, so that the father had gradually stepped out of an active life.

The family seem to have been in no way less esteemed because of their affliction, and continued to live in Topsfield: and Sarah Averell and John Wildes have today many descendants of whom they could be justly proud. Among many of distinction are

Capt. Wildes of the Boston in the late Cuban War; Hon. Asa W. Wildes of Newburyport, Mass., father of Col. A. W. Wildes of the Maine; Col. Henry Wildes of California, and Rev. George Dudley Wildes of New York. (W. E. D., Portland, Me., 1899).

time had passed he named a dau. after her [1699]). He was again Constable in 1693-4, and Treasurer of Topsfield, and filled other positions of trust in the service of his native town (see *T. H. C.*). He was Selectman 1689, and also Quartermaster, as the record of his death in *Topsfield V. R.* shows: "Quartermaster Ephraim Wildes Departed this Life April 2, 1725." His will made the day of his death provides plentifully for his wife and children.

Children (all b. at Topsfield, see *T. H. C.*):

- i. **JOHN¹**, b. June 25, 1690; m. Phoebe ———
- ii. **MARY¹**, b. Mar. 13, 1691-2; m. Nov. 26, 1719, Thomas Perkins of Cape Porpoise, called Arundel, and now Kennebunkport, Me.
- iii. **EPHRAIM¹**, b. Sept. 3, 1693; m. Jan. 31, 1730-1, Hepzibah Peabody.
- iv. **JONATHAN¹**, b. Oct. 21, 1695; m. Elizabeth ———
- v. **SUSANNAH¹**, b. Oct. 20, 1697; m. Apr. 12, 1722, Benjamin Towne.
- vi. **SARAH¹**, b. Mar. 27, 1699; m. Jan. 21, 1718-19, Jonathan Perkins. She prob. d. "Jan. 21, 1719-20, a 20y. 9m. 24d."; and he m. (2) at Salem, Elizabeth Potter (or Porter?) of Salem, Dec. 11, 1722.
- vii. **DOROTHY¹**, b. Dec. 15, 1700.
- viii. **JACOB¹**, b. Aug. 31, 1702; "m. Ruth Foster abt. 1720."
- ix. **PRISCILLA¹**, b. Aug. 12, 1704; d. Aug. 3, 1705.
- x. **PRISCILLA¹**, b. Mar. 3, 1708; m. Jacob Averell (Nathan-iel).
- xi. **SAMUEL¹**, b. Mar. 2, 1708.
- xii. **HANNAH¹**, b. Oct. 8, 1709; m. Capt. Nathaniel Averell.
- xiii. **AMOS¹**, b. June 28, 1711; d. July 25, 1726.
- xiv. **NATHAN¹**, b. Aug. 5, 1713.
- xv. **"JULIENNA¹"**, b. Feb. 21, 1716; d. Mar. 22, 1716-17.
- xvi. **ELIJAH¹**, b. Jan. 4, 1717-18; m. Anne Hovey.

* Data given by W. G. Davis of Portland, Me., 1899.

† In Bradbury's *Kennebunkport* it is stated that four of the brothers of Mary (Wildes) Perkins, wife of Thomas Perkins, were at the taking of Norrick-wock; namely:—Ephraim, Jacob, Samuel and Jonathan Wildes. (These were nephews of William¹ and Thomas¹ Averell.) On this expedition they visited their sister and all of them removed to Arundel (Kennebunkport), Me. In 1728 ——— Jacob Wildes ——— and Samuel Wildes ——— were made proprietors of Arundel Co., York. (See *Early Records*, now at Kennebunkport.)

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ALSO BY
DANIEL ALLEN HEARN

Legal Executions in New York State:
A Comprehensive Reference, 1639-1963
(McFarland, 1997)

Sarah Wildes
Bridget Bishop
Rebecca Nurse
John Willard
Ann Pudeator
Mary Easty

This book tells about the people
at left who were executed for
witchcraft, all our family's recent
relatives. For Nurse, Willard and
Easty see our TOWNE family files.

① Jacob² (William¹) Averill married John Wilder, a widower
with several children, as his second wife. They had one
son, Ephraim, a constable.

② Bridget Bishop was step-grandmother of Jonathan³ (Edward²,¹)
Bishop. Coincidentally, the young man's mother Sarah Wildes, was step-
daughter of Sarah (Averill) Wilder. His mother and father, Sarah and
Edward² Bishop were also executed and spent a few months in jail,
but being young & more vigorous, managed with outside help to
escape. Jonathan³ Bishop married Abigail³ (William² William¹)
Averill.

③ Ann Pudeator was grandmother of Anne Greenslett (aka Greenstole)
the wife of John³ (William²,¹) Averill.

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(1999)

LEGAL EXECUTIONS IN NEW ENGLAND

A Comprehensive Reference,
1623-1960

by
Daniel Allen Hearn



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It took great courage for the man and boy to approach the witch's domain. They fortified themselves accordingly and knocked on Bridget's door. When Bridget asked them what they wanted they requested a drink of her. Bridget was not deceived. Seeing the Shattuck boy, she suspected mischief. Then she lost her temper. Bridget chased the man from her yard with a shovel. She also caught the boy and thrashed him without mercy. It was a sorry man and boy who returned to tell of their adventure with Bridget Bishop.

For some time previous to the Shattuck incident Bridget had also acquired a lurid reputation for annoying young men as they lay in their beds at night. In 1678 she was alleged to have come in ghostly form to the chambers of 22-year-old William Stacy and 28-year-old Samuel Gray. In 1684 two more men of similar age claimed to have received nocturnal visits from the specter of Bridget Bishop. One of them, 24-year-old Richard Coman, said that she had come to him on three successive nights, while the other, 26-year-old John Louder, said that her spirit had sat upon his mid-section, grabbed him by the throat and attempted to throttle him.

While a sexual undertone is impossible to ignore in the tales of these four young men, one of them, John Louder, took his narrative a step beyond mere bedroom pranks. He told what was perhaps one of the most fantastic tales—if not the single most fantastic tale—to be found in the annals of New England witchcraft cases. Cotton Mather, in his *Wonders of the Invisible World*, related Louder's story as follows:

John Louder testified that upon some little controversy with Bishop about her fowles, going well to bed, he did awaken in the night by moonlight and did clearly see the likeness of this woman grievously oppressing him which miserable condition she held

him, unable to help himself, till near day. He told Bishop of this but she denied it and threatened him very much. Quickly after this, being at home on a Lord's day, with the doors shut about him, he saw a black pig approach him, at which he going to kick, it vanished away. Immediately after, sitting down, he saw a black thing jump in at the window and come and stand before him. The body was like that of a monkey, the feet like a cock's but the face much like a man's. He being so extremely frightened that he could not speak, this monster spoke to him and said "I am a messenger unto you. I understand that you are in some trouble of mind and if you will be ruled by me, you shall want for nothing in this world." Whereupon he endeavored to clap his hands upon it but could feel no substance. Then it jumped out of the window again but immediately came in by the porch though the doors were shut and said "You had better take my counsel!" He then struck at it with a stick but struck only the ground sill and broke the stick. The arm with which he struck at it was presently disabled and it vanished away. He presently went out of the back door and saw this Bishop in her orchard going toward her house but he had not power to set one foot forward unto her. Whereupon returning into his house he was immediately accosted by the monster he had seen before, which goblin was now going to fly at him whereat he cried out "The whole armor of God be between me and thee!" So it sprang back and flew over the apple tree, shaking many apples off the tree in its flight. At its leap it flung dirt with its feet against the stomach of the man whereupon he was struck dumb and so continued for three days together.

What is one to make of such testimony? Was Louder crazy? Was he drunk? Did he contrive his story? Or did he really encounter a demon? The question can be debated.

In 1685 truly solid evidence (or so it seemed) arose against Bridget Bishop. Workmen employed in dismantling the foundation of a house in which she had lived discovered secreted in niches "several poppets made of rags and hog bristles with headless pins in them." These were believed to be witch dolls and of course Bridget Bishop was thought to be responsible for them.

By far the most serious allegations against Bridget had to do with a number of foul murders that she was rumored to have perpetrated through means of witchcraft. The death of her first husband was attributed to her maledictions. William Stacey believed that she had slain his daughter Priscilla in 1690. Samuel Gray suspected her of having a hand in the untimely death of one of his children as well. Bridget was also accused of destroying an unidentified pair of twin infants.

With such credentials it is no small wonder that Bridget Bishop was denounced at Salem in 1692. Her notoriety earned her the distinction of being the first to face trial. She found herself appeached on April 18 when a girl named Susannah Sheldon reported a vision in which Bridget figured. According to the girl's account:

On the fourth day at night came Goody Oliver [Bishop] and Mrs. English and Goodman Corey and a black man with a high crowned hat with books in their hands. Goody Oliver bade me touch her book. I would not. I did not know her name but she told me that her name was Goody Oliver and she bade me touch her book. I asked her how long she had been a witch and she told me above 20 years. Then there came a snake creeping over her shoulder which crept into her bosom.... Then Goodman Corey and Goody Oliver kneeled down before the black man and went to prayer. Then the black man told me that Goody Oliver had been a witch for 20 years and a half. Then they all set to

biting me and so went away.... On the sixth day at night came Goody Oliver and Mrs. English, Goodman Corey and his wife.... Then Goody Oliver told me that she had killed four women; two of them were the Foster wives and John Trask's wife and did not name the other.

It is obvious from the content of this diatribe that Susannah Sheldon was actively coached. Adults were constantly discussing witchcraft matters within earshot of her. Many of those same adults despised Bridget Bishop. The girl also heard the stories of Tituba. Acutely susceptible, she readily picked up what she heard and embellished it for her listeners. Within a very short time four other girls were also howling against Bridget Bishop.

The hapless woman was arraigned on April 19 amid an intimidating atmosphere. Facing her were dour magistrates, armed guards and hostile witnesses. The meetinghouse was tense. In the front row sat the so-called "afflicted maidens" dressed in their best clothes. Behind them stretched a capacity crowd which filled every seat, jammed the aisles and spilled outdoors. People craned their necks and jockeyed for position. Little children were placed astride sturdy shoulders to get a better view. Outside still others pressed their faces to the windows. Then a hush fell over the murmuring throng as the center of attention [Bishop] arrived and the sheriff bellowed a throaty cry of "Make way!" At long last the public was going to see the "wicked witch," the "mass murderess," the "horrible she-beast of Salem" whose name was the terror of the town. For years, all agreed, she had thwarted justice with her crafty stratagems but now she would answer for her crimes.

The crowd parted before the sheriff's procession and Bridget Bishop was brought to the front of the room. There she faced the judges. But before even one

Abigail
Phoebe (Bishop's daughter) - 1st mother-in-law
Bridget

word could be said, pandemonium erupted in the courtroom. The girls who had a moment before been sitting serenely in the front row went berserk. With frantic screams they hurled themselves out of their seats, thrashed about on the floor, tore at things, clutched at things and had to be physically restrained from injuring themselves. A shrill of horror ran through the crowd. Most thought that the "witch" was trying to murder the girls before the very eyes of authority. Although Bridget Bishop was held fast by guards, her incorporeal specter was said to be assaulting the objects of her malice. Only the girls could see the phantom which attacked them and they pointed to it as it supposedly flitted about the room. The brother of Mary Walcott drew a sword and slashed at the air in an effort to strike the invisible fiend. Again and again he swung the sword until his sister finally shrieked that he had cut the phantom's throat. Bridget Bishop's coat was found to have a tear in it at precisely the same spot.

Only with the utmost difficulty was order restored. When the commotion subsided to a point where magistrate John Hathorne could make himself heard, he asked the girls if it was indeed Bridget Bishop who had abused them. Elizabeth Hubbard, Ann Putnam, Abigail Williams and Mercy Lewis all answered in the affirmative. Bridget Bishop denied everything. But as she shook her head in denial the girls were once again hurled into paroxysms of pain. The same thing happened whenever the accused woman made any bodily motion. If Bridget Bishop so much as rolled her eyes the girls reacted. If she nodded her head, the same. Likewise if she shifted her stance, tapped her foot, motioned with her fingers or even sighed. Another murmur ran through the crowd of spectators. It was thought that the "witch" had the impudence to practice her craft right there in the

courtroom. The crowning blow came when Bridget was asked whether or not she felt "troubled to see the afflicted persons so tormented." She replied with an expression of contempt.

Bridget Bishop was remanded back to prison while additional "evidence" was collected against her. It was swift in coming. A deranged woman named Abigail Hobbes astounded the public by confessing herself a witch and naming many others in the process, among them her own parents. Before long that woman's mother, Deliverance Hobbes, was tricked into self-incrimination; she said that because of her willingness to cooperate with authority, the wrath of Bridget Bishop had beset her. She said that Bridget came to her in spectral form as she lay in jail, castigated her and demanded that she resubmit to the devil. "She would have me set my hand to the book!" said Deliverance Hobbes. "But I would not. Neither did I consent to hurt them (the girls) again.... It was Goody Bishop that tempted me to deny all that I had confessed before." Hobbes also alleged that Bridget Bishop had come to her in ghostly form together with other witches and demanded that she partake of a diabolical sacrament of "roast and boiled meat."

It was decided to reexamine Bridget Bishop. Again the woman found herself paraded before a packed assembly. Again the meetinghouse became the scene of psychosomatic convulsions convincingly acted out. Again Bridget Bishop was denounced as the cause of it all. At that point the accused woman could take no more.

"Liars!" she screamed.

At that, the chaos was renewed. The girls shrieked and swooned.

"What contract has thou made with the devil?" demanded the examining magistrate.

"None!" hollered Bridget Bishop.

"She calls the devil her God!" wailed Ann Putnam.

Bridget continued to deny everything. Realizing that he was getting nowhere, the inquisitorial magistrate decided to change tactics.

"Do you not see how they are tormented?" asked magistrate Hathorne. "You are practicing witchcraft before us. What do you say to this? Why do you not have a heart to confess the truth?"

"I am innocent! I know nothing of it! I am no witch!" retorted Bridget Bishop.

At that point magistrate Hathorne sprung a wily snare:

"Have you not," he sneered, "given consent that some evil spirit should do this in your likeness?"

Hitherto unable to wring a confession from the accused woman, Hathorne attempted to trick her with an analogous argument. That also failed to break Bridget's resolve. She remained firm. Finally amid a continued uproar from the girls and the opprobrium of the adult audience, an exasperated magistrate ordered Bridget returned to prison. Then her case was submitted to a grand jury.

Four separate indictments were returned against Bridget Bishop. Then even further indignities were imposed on her: She was forced to endure the physical examination of her naked body for marks of the devil. A panel of matrons was employed for that purpose. Two separate "searches" were conducted and no spot or orifice escaped perusal. The matrons found what they were looking for (or thought that they did), and they filed an official report to that effect.

The trial of Bridget Bishop opened at Salem on June 2, 1692. It was a one-day affair. Seven judges headed by Deputy-Governor William Stoughton comprised the court. Bridget was allowed no counsel; at least no one is known to have risked their skin to defend her. The evidence produced was but a rehash of the scurrilous stories that had long circulated about her. The prevailing lunacy of

the "afflicted girls" counted heavily against her as well. Cotton Mather, who later wrote of the trial, captured the quintessence of the proceedings when he remarked, "There was little occasion to prove the witchcraft, it being evident and notorious to all beholders." Bridget Bishop was predoomed by popular opinion and prejudice. On June 10, 1692, the sheriff of Essex County did his duty as ordered and did "cause Bridget Bishop to be hanged by the neck until she was dead."

attracted attention at Salem Village in 1692. She was denounced in the latter part of May, arrested on the 28th of that month and arraigned on the 31st. She faced the full fury of the witch hunters when first brought into court. Six young women accused her of abusing them and they demonstrated a full gamut of antics to support their claim. All screamed maniacally. Some writhed on the floor. One showed a pin stuck in her hand and another displayed welts on her arms. Still another swooned while two more shrieked that they saw the specter of Elizabeth How upon her. John Indian (the husband of Tituba) also got into the act. "Oh, she bites! She bites!" he wailed as he thrashed about on the floor in an act of deliberate fraud. Some bailiffs carried him over to Elizabeth How and she was ordered to touch him whereupon he came to his senses again as did one of the girls who acted in a like manner.

In addition to this courtroom farce the tales of the Perley family were produced in evidence against Elizabeth How. There were also stories about bewitched livestock and so on. But by far the cruellest jab came from Elizabeth's own brother-in-law. He had refused to accompany her to her arraignment and later testified that she had hexed some of his swine in retaliation.

It is significant to note that by the time of Elizabeth How's trial (which took place on June 30, 1692), several desperate individuals were endeavoring to save themselves by making false confessions. Some of them implicated Elizabeth How in their tales. It had been reasoned by the authorities that a contrite witch need not necessarily be damned; therefore any who confessed their guilt would be spared the death penalty in order that they be rehabilitated and thereby deny the devil an addition to his ranks. The Puritans saw it as their duty on the one hand to extirpate witches but to also keep souls from the devil wherever possible. Hence only obdurate non-

confessors would be executed and it became one of the greatest tragedies of the witch hunt that there were innocent persons under condemnation whose principles precluded them from falsely incriminating themselves. Elizabeth How was one such person. She bravely maintained her innocence under extreme duress. Even the imminent threat of the gallows failed to shake her resolve. Thus did she die, eschewing falsehood to the end on July 19, 1692.

Sarah Wildes, white, age 63. *Witchcraft*. This woman was born in England, one of seven children of William and Abigail Averill. She came to Massachusetts with her parents at the age of eight and grew up at Ipswich in circumstances of penury. By the age of 20 she had been sent to the town whipping post at least one time for fornication. By age 26 she was bereaved of both parents and at the abnormally late age of 34 she married for her first and only time.

The nuptials of Sarah Averill and 44-year-old John Wildes of Topsfield were solemnized on November 23, 1663. The bridegroom was a widower with seven children and Sarah presented him with an eighth child, a boy named Ephraim, in December of 1665.

For reasons long forgotten the new Goody Wildes was loathed by the kin of her husband's first wife. She was especially repugnant to the dead woman's brother and sister, John Gould and Mary Gould Reddington by name. They may have frowned upon the fact that Sarah came from a poor family. There might have been hard feelings over what became of the first wife's possessions. The possibilities are numerous. Whatever the case, it was the Gould family that was chiefly responsible for branding Sarah Wildes with the infamy of a witch.

The allegations of witchcraft are traceable to around 1670 when one of Sarah's stepsons suffered an illness which could not be explained. The boy recov-

ered but his maternal aunt, Mary Gould Reddington, so hated his stepmother, Sarah Wildes, that she used the event as an excuse to malign her. Within days the whole community was abuzz with gossip and as the years passed the poisonous seeds sowed by Mary Gould Reddington grew and mutated until the name of Sarah Wildes was anathema to God-fearing people.

For instance, one harvest day in 1674 two teenaged brothers named John and Joseph Andrews came to Sarah's house and asked her if they might borrow a scythe. The woman refused their request. However, as they were turning to leave a bystander noticed a scythe hanging nearby which belonged to one of Sarah's stepsons and bade the lads take it on condition that they obtain permission from its owner who was then at a place which they would pass. So the Andrews brothers took the scythe in direct disobedience of Sarah Wildes who became annoyed and sent her eight-year-old son after them with an order to return the scythe forthwith. The Andrews brothers ignored the little boy. Then they went to mowing hay. They did, however, properly obtain permission for use of the scythe from its owner. Three cartloads of hay were cut, the scythe was returned and one load of hay was safely transported to storage. However, bizarre trouble soon struck. Upon garnering the second load of hay, six strong oxen were suddenly and unaccountably disabled. For all their combined might they could not budge the haywagon. Then to make matters worse, one of the wagon wheels became mired despite the ground being firm. Accordingly, the Andrews brothers were required to jettison the load of hay for fear that a wrathful Sarah Wildes had bewitched their wagon. Not until the wagon was empty were the oxen able to free the wheel. Then with *terra firma* regained the Andrews boys reloaded the wagon and managed to proceed without

further difficulty to the top of a steep hill. There they paused and prepared for a delicate descent. However, right at that point a snake spooked the oxen and the result was a runaway haywagon careening down the hill at wild speed with John Andrews hanging on to it for dear life. Amazingly, the wagon remained upright for the entire length of the hill but it overturned at the bottom, scattering the hay and hurling John Andrews into a brook. The young man was dazed but essentially unhurt. Then he and his brother once again pitched the hay into the cart. No sooner did they finish that task than a new woe confronted them: try as they might, they could not properly fasten the ropes which secured the load. The bindings persisted in hanging loose thereon. In such a condition the Andrews boys staggered home. Night had fallen by then and they encountered concerned friends on the road who had set out in search of them. The would-be rescuers likewise strove to secure the hay ropes though without success and there was no man among them who did not fear the worst when Sarah Wildes was mentioned.

The gossip over this incident nettled Sarah Wildes. It also set off a feud between her and the Andrews family. One day in 1679 the mother and sister of the Andrews boys encountered Sarah Wildes on the road. The mother used the occasion to pick an argument with Wildes. She accused her of putting a hex on her boys. Sarah responded in a cocky manner which prompted Mother Andrews to call her daughter to her side. Then according to the daughter's account of the incident, Sarah Wildes gave her the "evil eye." "Immediately I did fall into such a trembling condition that I was as if all my joints did knock together so that I could hardly go along," recounted the daughter, whose name was Elizabeth Andrews Symonds. She also embellished her story further by saying that the spectral form of Sarah

*Legal Executions in New England 1621-1688
by Denise Allen Heard (1999)*

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Wildes had come to her bedroom in the night for no good purpose.

A week later Elizabeth Andrews Symonds encountered Sarah Wildes in the local meetinghouse and once again claimed to feel the malignant effects of the evil eye. "As I was sitting in my seat," said Elizabeth Andrews Symonds, "Goodwife Wildes came by and I was immediately taken with such a pain in my back that I was not able to bear it and fell down in the seat. I did not know where I was and some people carried me out of the meetinghouse. But I knew nothing of it until afterwards when I came to myself. A great many people came about me to ask what was the matter with me. Goodwife Wildes came and stood at the end of the table and I replied and said, 'There she is!' and my mother bade me go and scratch her but I could not stir."

Naturally the Andrews family fell right in with the Goulds when it came to detesting Sarah Wildes.

Mary Gould Reddington had ever maintained that Sarah Wildes had hexed her nephew Jonathan Wildes in 1670 or thereabout. But while she seems to have initially acted out of malice she also seems to have grown to believe her own nonsense. By 1677 she was in failing health and attributed her condition to witchcraft. In desperation she sought out the Rev. John Hale of Beverly, a much esteemed minister, and spilled her heart out to him with one story after another about Sarah Wildes and how "that witch" had plagued her for years, ruining her health and property.

When Sarah's husband heard of the Hale interview he threatened to sue the Reddingtons for slander. But Goodman Reddington managed to dissuade John Wildes with an argument that his calumnious wife had little time left to live and that the problem would therefore solve itself. Nevertheless John Wildes insisted upon confronting Mary Gould Reddington and when the time

came, he brought one of Sarah's brothers along with him as witness. Mary Gould Reddington blanched before the two men and denied having ever impugned Sarah Wildes. "She replied that she knew no harm my wife had done her," reported the pacified husband.

Mary Gould Reddington was not only a liar and a hypocrite but a coward as well.

The slandered Sarah Wildes was less indulgent than her husband. She went on the warpath and determined to settle accounts with Mary Gould Reddington once and for all. One day she caught up with her quarry on the road to Salem and went into battle. Fully enraged, Sarah Wildes pulled her foe right off of a horse, threw her on the ground and probably would have beaten her to death had two other riders not come along and intervened. Needless to say, the two women remained bitter, remorseless enemies and Mary Gould Reddington vilified Sarah Wildes even on her deathbed.

Sarah Wildes probably felt some personal satisfaction by outliving Mary Gould Reddington. However, she was not destined to have peace in her life. Another foe arose in the person of the aforementioned Elizabeth Andrews Symonds. This woman was quite capable of antagonizing Sarah Wildes; she had long been in cahoots with Mary Gould Reddington and she was every bit as mendacious, hypocritical and cowardly. She was also inordinately sly.

Sensing that the strategy of traducing Sarah Wildes from a witchcraft angle was pretty well played out, Elizabeth Andrews Symonds sought to irk her in a way that was as novel as it was cutting. Why not, she thought, direct a carefully aimed jab at Sarah Wildes by snaring her beloved only son?

So Elizabeth Andrews Symonds prepared a punic ruse for young Ephraim Wildes. What she did precisely was allow the 23-year-old bachelor to pay court to

one of her daughters. A romance blossomed and marriage was discussed. Then came trouble. The old story of Sarah Wildes casting the evil eye on Elizabeth Andrews Symonds resurfaced and it boded friction between the two prospective mothers-in-law. Ephraim Wildes sought to clear up the matter. He went to his sweetheart's mother and asked for an explanation. Elizabeth Andrews Symonds lied to the young man, saying that she bore no ill will toward his mother and she even attempted to throw the blame for past problems on the long-dead Mary Gould Reddington.

Ephraim Wildes was not deceived. He became disgusted and stomped out of the house. The marriage was canceled. The skillfully baited trap had worked to perfection; it certainly hurt Sarah Wildes to see her only son heartbroken.

How it was that Sarah Wildes came to the attention of the witch hunters in 1692 is easily explained. The family of her arch enemy, Mary Gould Reddington, was related to the prime catalysts of the Salem imbroglio, the Putnams. Hence it was a matter of course that Sarah Wildes be implicated. Indeed, she was near the very top of the Putnam family hit list, 12-year-old Ann Putnam having denounced Sarah Wildes at the instigation of her parents during the early stages of the witch panic in March of 1692.

All of this was bad enough but there was even worse in store for Sarah Wildes. In that year of 1692 her son, Ephraim Wildes, was constable for the town of Topsfield and on April 21 he was ordered to execute an arrest warrant which included the name of his own mother. At a late hour another officer was allowed to take his place.

Sarah Wildes was arraigned on April 22, 1692, amid the usual scenes of courtroom pandemonium. The so-called "Crown Witnesses" accused her of sitting on an overhead beam in spectral form throughout the proceedings,

urging her victims to sign the devil's book and casting the evil eye upon all who beheld her. This performance was accompanied by screams and convulsions for added effect.

Sarah Wildes had her trial on July 2, 1692, and she was promptly convicted. Sentenced to death, she maintained her innocence to the end. On July 19, 1692, she was hanged along with four others.

John Proctor, white, age about 60. *Witchcraft*. This man was born in England, the namesake of his father. He had at least two brothers and one sister. The entire family emigrated to Massachusetts about 1645 and settled at Ipswich. In the years that followed, John Proctor married three times (he was widowed twice) and fathered 11 children. Over a period of time he amassed considerable land holdings which he farmed in unison with his brothers and adult sons. Proctor was also a licensed innkeeper but it was his third wife, Elizabeth Bassett Proctor (white, age about 39) who presided over that enterprise. John Proctor was openly contemptuous of the Salem witch hunt and of the so-called "afflicted girls" in particular. He saw no reason for them to be fussed over and prayed over; what they needed, said he, was a good beating and then they would be restored to normalcy. When Proctor heard that one of his servant girls, Mary Warren, was involved in the witchcraft inquest he fetched her home in a hurry and put her to work. He may have also given her a beating because he made no secret of an intention to "thrash the devil out of her." On April 4, 1692, several of the "afflicted girls" denounced Elizabeth Proctor. She was arrested at her place of business. When it came her turn to be arraigned John Proctor made it a point to be present. Because he was a threat to the celebrity status of the "afflicted persons" he too was denounced as a witch. Abigail Williams claimed that Proctor was every bit as malevolent as his wife.

Ann Pudeater, white, age 70. *Witchcraft*. One of the most flagrant examples of how the Salem witch hunt was used to destroy an unpopular individual may be found in the case of Ann Pudeater, an aging widow who had scandalized her community.

Originally Ann hailed from parts unknown. Her first traceable appearance is at Salem in 1673 as a matron named Ann Greenslitt. She also had five grown children by then. Within a year of her arrival at Salem, her husband, Thomas Greenslitt, was dead and she was left to her own resources. Consequently Ann took to hiring herself out as a nurse.

About eight years before the Greenslitts came to Salem there appeared at that town a 24-year-old blacksmith named Jacob Pudeater. In the autumn of 1666 this young man married an alcoholic named Isabelle Mossier and went downhill from there. By 1673 he was miserable and his wife was well on her way to drinking herself to death, finally succeeding four years later.

Ann Greenslitt by that time, 1677, was well established in her capacity of a nurse for hire and it was she who attended the deathbed of Isabelle Mossier Pudeater. No sooner had the dying woman breathed her last than Ann Greenslitt and Jacob Pudeater announced their intention to marry. At once there were rumors of improprieties. It was said that the newly engaged couple had been carrying on adulterously. Some of the more vicious gossips even said that the couple had hurried the demise of the dead woman by plying her with poisoned rum. The fact that Ann Greenslitt Pudeater was old enough to be her new husband's mother did not look good either. In fact, so critical did public opinion become that a formal

inquest was held on the death of Isabelle Mossier Pudeater three years after the fact. By then, however, Jacob and Ann were happily married—much to the disgust of their neighbors.

The couple survived the Court of Inquiry—again to the disgust of their neighbors. By then, however, Jacob Pudeater was living on borrowed time. He died in the autumn of 1681 at the age of 39, leaving Ann and her children as his principal heirs. His untimely death also added to the luridness of his wife's reputation. Ann was reviled as an opportunist who had slyly made away with her husband's first wife, then inveigled the man into naming her as his heir and then rid herself of him as well.

Although the precise means through which Ann Greenslitt was alleged to have murdered her way into the Pudeater estate is not known to have been specified at the time, it would seem likely that poison was thought to be her weapon. This is because a certain line of questioning at her 1692 arraignment attempted to zero in on certain "ointments and oils" she was known to possess—nearly 20 separate vials of suspicious substances. In her defense, Ann claimed that those items were merely lards which she used for making soap. She was not believed.

It must also be borne in mind that in the 17th century poisoning was regarded as a close cousin to witchcraft. Hence it is not surprising to find allegations of black magic in the case of Ann Greenslitt Pudeater.

A militiaman named Jeremiah Neal told of how his wife had been ill with the smallpox at a time when he had let Ann Pudeater borrow a mortar. Soon regretting his generosity, he asked for the mortar's return. As a result, said he, the smallpox proved fatal to his wife.

There was also a report that Ann Pudeater caused the death of a Goodwife Best through infernal means. There were tales of her spectral image flitting by

men in the street. She was said to have tempted a recalcitrant witch with images of prospective victims and to have stuck thorns into those same images. She was even accused of using witchcraft to make a man fall out of a cherry tree.

Ann Pudeater fought back with remarkable acumen, especially after she had been condemned. She prepared a petition in which she raised a substantial point that one of her accusers was a convicted perjurer. How then, she asked, could that person's word be taken as evidence to deprive her of her life? No answer was given to her petition. Ann Pudeater was hanged at Salem on September 22, 1692.

*Ann Pudeater was
granddaughter of Mary (Greenslitt) Arise
wife of John Arise (William 2nd)*



AVERILL FAMILY

to the spot where Mrs. Bishop had been executed in June; and there in the same way upon trees their lives were taken."

Sarah and her brother Will, our ancestor, had had a very close relationship, but he could not help her. He had died the previous year, before the horrible mess started.

The reader is encouraged to read the following references for details on this subject, and for Sarah's involvement. The first one listed is wonderful--written by one of Sarah's descendants, and tells a lot of Averill and Wildes family history, insight into the tragedy, and details about other inter-related families. The book by Enders A. Robinson is fascinating, and explores motives while it explains the connections between the victims and the persecutors, and also proves that many of the families were related in ways people do not realize.

Robinson believes they Sarah was targeted to get at her husband

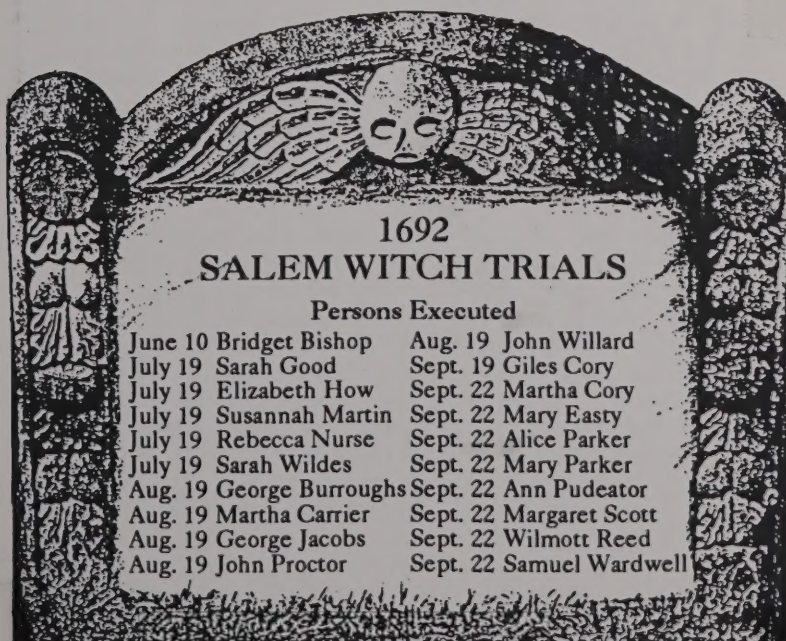
"Ancestry of Dudley Wildes" - Walter Goodwin Davis

"Salem Witchcraft & Hawthorne's House of Seven Gables" - E. A. Robinson

"Court Records of Salem Witchcraft" - printed in 1864 from originals

"History of Salem" Vol 3:22, etc. - Sidney Perley

"The Devil in Massachusetts" Pg 170, etc - M. L. Starkey



Background on the Witchcraft Trials

It is hard nowadays to realize that three hundred years ago almost all the world believed in witches. Religious authorities were the most involved because they were trying to stamp out evil. Southwestern Germany, alone, is said to have executed 3000 witches between the years 1560 and 1680. The Anglicans of England did it, but less so. Thousands were accused during the Inquisition in Catholic Spain, though only about ten were actually executed--by burning at the stake rather than hanging.

The Bible said, "suffer not a witch to live." They believed the destruction of witches was God's command. New Englanders were extremely superstitious and deathly afraid of witches. However, by 1692 most of Europe was outgrowing the idea. The Dutch in Holland and in New Amsterdam looked askance upon the Salem hysteria.

Massachusetts' new Royal Governor Phipps (appointed by the Crown, not elected) was against conviction based solely on spectral evidence, and commanded Lt. Gov. Stoughton that there must be actual proof, not just the testimony of those claiming to have been bewitched or to have seen something in a trance or dream. Then he went off to Canada on an expedition. Stoughton stood to profit materially by some of the convictions, and ignored the order.

By midsummer it became evident that some people were accusing those against whom they had an axe to grind, as a way to even scores. Perhaps they even perceived the accused as evil, and others were looking for solutions for illness or misfortune they imagined witches may have caused. Some of the magistrates were anxious to get their hands on the property of the accused which was always confiscated, often leaving little children with no homes or food. Minister Thomas Barnard of Andover sought to get rid of an older assistant pastor and went so far as to convince some of his congregation they were bewitched to achieve his goal.

As accusations mounted, they started to include rich and powerful people who would not put up with it. John Alden, son of Mayflower pilgrims John Alden and Priscilla Mullen, simply moved to the protection of New Amsterdam. Others escaped to points west, including Sarah (Averill) Wildes' stepdaughter and son-in-law, Edward and Sarah (Wildes) Bishop, Jr. It became clear that justice was not being evenhandedly administered. When Gov. Phipps got back he was aghast at the state of affairs he found. To strengthen his hand, he consulted with the Dutch at New Amsterdam, who told him in writing that it was very unenlightened to accept proof of witchcraft on spectral evidence and they would never stoop to it.

Governor Phipps issued an order that henceforth no spectral evidence was to be admitted. The magistrates were furious but had no choice. When the trials reconvened in January, 1693, they were not able to get a guilty verdict for any of the accused. They made it their business to convict those who had already been convinced to confess, however, with no trials held. The governor promptly stopped the executions, but they and the rest of the accused had to remain in

jail--even those found by the court to be innocent of all charges--until after the bill for room and board plus incidentals at the jail was paid! (In those days, even in Old England, the only way jailors had of making a living, since they had no salary, was from extracting money from the prisoners, themselves. We will not get into the subject, here, of the abuses caused by such a system.) Since the property of the accused was confiscated when they were arrested, most of the fees were paid by friends and family if they could raise the money. A few could not pay and, even though they were declared innocent by the court, they remained in jail until they died. One enterprising prisoner actually arranged with her jailor to have her sold into bondage in Virginia, it being the only way she could get out.

The Witch Trials gave a blow to the Puritan Church from which it has never recovered, to this day. In actuality the Church was simply made an unwitting tool by many of the conspirators, who made a great deal financially; and also by others who found themselves in a position to punish those whom they disliked. Only a handful of ministers had any real involvement, but those who were, were highly conspicuous.

Probably most Puritan ministers were against the trials, especially when they began to catch on to what was happening, though it was dangerous for even them to speak out--witness what happened to Rev. George Burroughs who was hanged and thrown into the same pit as Constable John Willard (the husband of another of our ancestors, Margaret Wilkins who later married John Towne).

Other ministers were simply duped. It seems to this writer that is what happened to another of our ancestors, Rev. John Emerson, who got a very serious blow to his reputation. He was a very superstitious man, which might partly be explained by the fact that his parents, English but of Norse blood, were from a part of England over run and settled by ancient Norsemen who saw a troll under every bridge and forests full of spirits. And perhaps that was behind his well-publicized letter to Rev. Cotton Mather, who had asked him to put in writing his opinion about recent reports of Indians, spurred on by the French, who had caused an alarm in his vicinity. Evidently the Indians had been shot at but missed. Our ancestor said it was because they were not Indians at all, but evil spirits! That is what Mather wanted him to write.

Rev. Emerson was undoubtedly also a close friend of charismatic Rev. Thomas Barnard of Andover, who seemed able to cast his type of spell over just about anyone. They were fellow Harvard graduates. It seems as though both he and Rev. Increase Mather visited Barnard's parishioner, Mary (Lovatt) Tyler in jail. He told her she was certainly a witch and urged her to confess. Naturally he did it in such a way as to attract a lot of attention. He was probably just trying to save her soul and rid the community of witches. Friends like he had, one could do without.

AVERILL FAMILY - Addendum (3)

The background page is intended to show the setting back then, in which a tragedy like that could happen to a nice old lady like Sarah Averill Wildes. Less has been written about her than about some of the accused witches, so we want to make the most of what we have. Clara Avery wrote about her in the book, in which she was person #4, but this writer has not seen those pages and may be missing some details.

Sarah's husband, John Wildes (cal620-1708) first married Priscilla Gould (1625-1663) who died leaving daughters Phebe and Sarah, probably others. On 23 Nov 1663 he married Sarah, then 36 years old, who cared for his children and bore him at least one more, Ephraim Wildes (1665-1725). Ephraim married Mary Howlett (1671/1-1758) in Topsfield on 18 Mar 1689, three years before he testified in behalf of his mother. John Wildes also testified.

John Wildes' deposition mentioned his "brother Averill," It would be nice to know whom he was referring to, since brother William was dead and brother Thomas was living in Maine. What happened to John is not known. No marriage for him or any other Averill who could have been a brother has been found, and Averys were also checked. Remember that there were supposed to have been "three whose names are not known."

Looking at the total picture, it is likely that the "afflicted girls" and other accusers "cried out upon" 65-year old Sarah to get at her husband indirectly, rather than because of something she did, herself. Stepdaughter Sarah and son-in-law Edward Bishop, Jr., were arrested the same time as she, though not tried as soon, and managed to make their escape to points west. The other stepdaughter, Phebe Day of Gloucester, the mother of six small children, was arrested in October. (Being arrested that late probably saved her life, but did not save her having to spend the winter, an unusually cold and bitter one, in a dark, dank, unheated, vermine-infested jail--a handy way to cut down on prison population because many did not survive. All this because some calculating people hated her father!)

On page 170 of her book, "The Devil in Massachusetts," Marion L. Starkey describes Sarah like this:

"Sarah Wild was a farmer's wife with a strong sense of property rights; if people borrowed a scythe without her approval, she was capable of flying out at them and then sending a demon to plague them by overturning their hay wagons. Or at least, some of the neighbors so reported. Others testified in quite a contrary direction. The reports of the first harmonized better with the visions of the girls and the present party line of theocracy, and the jury in any case was taking no more chances with acquittals. Sarah Wild, too, was condemned to death."

A warrant was issued in Salem on 21 April 1692 "vs Sarah Wilds et als" for the arrest of several people (including Mary Easty the wife of Isaac Easty, also our relative), Sarah Wilds the wife of John Wilds, Edward Bishop husbandman and Sarah his wife for "high suspition and sundry acts of witchcraft donne or Committed by them Lately upon the Bodys of" various accusers.

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Sarah's husband, John Wilkes (ca1830-1908) first married Elizabeth Gould (1822-1863) who died leaving daughter Phoebe and Sarah, probably others. On 25 Nov 1863 he married Sarah, then 30 years old, who cared for his children and bore him at least one more, Agnes Wilkes (1862-1923). Agnes married Mary Howland (1871-1933) in Topsfield on 18 Mar 1883, three years before he testified in behalf of his mother. John Wilkes also testified.

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On the next page see a literal translation of the court documents in Sarah's case--what remains of them. Writer has stuck mostly to original spellings and phraseology. The only words changed were entirely archaic. They had no letter "s" as we know it, but used the letter "f" so that was changed throughout.

They were arrested on 22 April, the next day, and the frail, elderly Sarah was dragged off and thrown in jail with the others. There was no heat, only dank ground, filth, and noise. She was tried before the second sitting of the court on 30 June, 1692 along with Sarah Good, Rebecca Nurse (an even older relative of ours), Susanna Martin, and Elizabeth Howe. None would confess, but all were condemned.

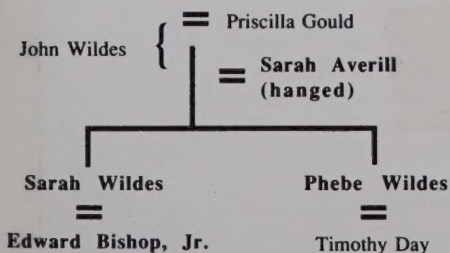
On 19 July there was a long procession through the streets, thronged by onlookers, some high on buildings, to watch the grisly scene wherein Sarah and the others were hauled off to Gallows Hill, and "there, upon trees, their lives were taken." All protested their innocence to the end.

The following year, on 26 June 1693, widower John Wildes married Mary Jacobs, the widow of 76-year old George Jacobs, who was hung 19 August 1692 along with John Willard, John Proctor, and Rev. George Burroughs. They were later thrown into the pit so hastily that one leg was left sticking out.

John thus became a grand father of 16-year old Margaret Jacobs, who had declared in writing that she was threatened with the dungeon and hanging if she refused to confess. Nevertheless, young Margaret's life was spared only because she had an "imposthume" on her forehead (what they thought was a fatal tumor). George, Jr. and wife Rebecca Jacobs were also accused (see Xeroxed pages).

The following chart is from the book, "Salem Witchcraft & Hawthorne's House of the Seven Gables" By Enders A. Robinson. Several other pages from that book which you will probably find interesting have been copied and shrunk to save space, and are included in this report.

SALEM WITCHCRAFT GENEALOGY



Phoebe Wildes, born about 1653, was the daughter of Priscilla (Gould) and John Wildes of Topsfield. After her mother's death her father married, in 1663, Sarah Averill. Phoebe's father was one of the Topsfield men disliked by the Salem Village accusers. In 1679, Phoebe Wildes married Timothy Day of Gloucester and took up life in that town.

In 1692 Phoebe, 39, her husband, and their six children were living in Gloucester on the westerly side of the Annisquam River. On April 22, 1692, her sister, Sarah (Wildes) Bishop; her brother-in-law, Edward Bishop, Jr.; and her stepmother, Sarah (Averill) Wildes, were imprisoned. On July 19 her stepmother was hanged at Salem. In early October 1692, Phoebe (Wildes) Day was imprisoned at Ipswich prison. Phoebe was one of the signers of the petition from that prison in December. There are no further extant court records. On June 26, 1693, Phoebe's father, John Wildes, married Mary (mnu) Jacobs, widow of George Jacobs, Sr., who had been hanged at Salem on August 19, 1692

MARQUETTE SCHOOL OF MEDICINE

8700 WEST WISCONSIN AVENUE
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN 53226

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They were arrested on 22 April, the next day, and the first, elderly Sarah was dragged off and thrown in jail with the others. There was no heat only dark ground, filth, and noise. She was tried before the second sitting of the court on 30 July, 1892 along with Sarah Good, Rebecca Nurse (an even older relative of ours), Thomas Martin, and Elizabeth Howe. None would confess, but all were condemned.

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The following chart is from the book, "Sales Witchcraft & Hawthorne's House of the Seven Gables" by Ender A. Robinson. Several other pages from that book which you will probably find interesting have been copied and shrunk to save space, and are included in this report.

Warrant vs. Sarah Wilds & als. Salem Aprill. the 21th. 1692.

There being complaint this day made (before us) by Thomas Putnam and John Buxton of Salem Village Yeomen, in behalfe of their Majesties, for themselves and also for severall of their neighbours against William Hobs husbandman, Deliverance his wife, Nehemiah Abot junior weaver, Mary Easty the wife of Isaac Easty, and Sarah Wilds the wife of John Wilds, all of the Towne of Topsfield or Ipswitch and Edward Bishop husbandman and Sarah his wife of Salem Village and Mary Black A negro of Leut Nath Putnams of Salem Village also. And Mary English the wife of Philip English Merchant in Salem for high suspition of sundry acts of witchcraft donne or Committed by them Lately upon the Bodys of Anna putnam and Marcy Lewis belonging to the family of the abovesaid Thomas Putnam, complainant, and Mary Walcot the daughter of Capt Jonathan Walcot of said Salem Village and others, whereby great hurt and dammage hath beene donne to ye bodys of said persons abovenamed therefore craved Justice.

You are therefore in their Majesties names hereby Com-required to Apprehend and bring before us William Hobs husbandman and his wife, Nehemiah Abot Junr weaver, Mary Easty the wife of Isaac Easty and all the rest abovenamed tomorrow aboute ten of the clock in the forenoon at the house of Leiut Nathaniel Ingersalls in Salem Village in order to their examination Relating to the premises abovesayd and here of you are not to faile.

Dated Salem. Aprill 21th 1692. John Hathorne)
Jonathan Corwin) Assists.

To George Herrich, Marshall of Essex: and any or all of ye constables in Salem or Topsfield or any other Towne.

Examination of Sarah Wilds.

The examination of Sarah Wilds at a Court held at Salem Village 1692 by the wop—John Hathorn & Jonathan Corwin.
The Sufferers were seized with, sou the accused came into the Court.

"Hath this woman hurt you?"

"Oh, she is upon the beam." Goody Bibber that never saw her before says she saw her now upon the beam, & then the said Bibber fell into a fit.

"What say you to this, are you guilty or not?"

"I am not guilty, Sir."

Is this woman speaking to ye afflicted? Thay all, or most, said yes, & then fell into fits.

"What do you say, are you guilty?"

"I thank God. I am free."

"Hear is a clear evidence that you have been not only a Tormenter, but that you have caused one to signe the book, the night before last. What you say to this?"

"I never saw the book in my life, and I never saw these persons before."

Some of the afflicted fell into fits.

"Do you deny this thing that is?"

All fell into fits and confirmed that the accused hurt them.

"Did you never consent that these should be hurt?"

"Never in my life."

She was charged by some with hurting John Hemcks mother. The accused denied it. Capt. Howe gave in a relation, and confirmation of the charges before made. She was ordered to be taken away & they all cryed out she was upon the beam and fell into fits.

Salem Village Aprill 22th, 1692. Mr. Sam'l Parris being desired to take in wrighting ye Examination of and Wm Hobbs. Sarah Wilds delivered it aforesaid, and upon hearing the same and seeing what wee did see at ye time of her examination together with ye charge of ye affected persons against her, we committed her to their Majesties Gaol.

John Hathorne.

John Wilds for Sarah Wilds.

John Wiells testifieth that he did hear that Mary the wife of Jno Reddinton did raise a report that my wife had bewitched her, and I went to ye said Jno Reddinton and told him I would arrest him for his wife's defaming of my wife, but ye said Reddinton desired me not to do it for it would but waste his estate, and that his wife would a done with it in tyme, and that he knew nothing she had against my wife. After this I got my brother Averill to goe to ye said Sarah Reddinton, that if she had anything against my wife, that he would be a means and would help her to bring my wife out, and that the said Sarah Reddinton replied that she knew no harm mye wife had done her.

Ephraim Wilds for Sarah Wilds.

The testimony of Ephraim Willdes aged about 27 or thereabouts testifieth and saith that about fouer yers ago there was som likly hode of my having one of Goody Simonds' daughters and as the maid told me, her mother and father were ueriey willing that I should have haue, but after some time I had a hint that Goody Simonds had formerly said she believed my mother had done her wrong, and I went to her & took Mark How that is now dead, who died to the eastward, along with me, and before both of us she denied that ever she had eeny grounds to think any harm of my mother, only from what Goody Redington had said, and afterward I left the house and went no more, and ever since she bene veriey angrie with me and now she will reward me.

Ephraim Willdes.

Ephraim Wilds for Sarah Wilds.

This may inform the Honored Court that I, Ephraim Willdes being constabell for topsfield this year and the Marshall of Sallem coming to fetch away my mother, he then showed me a warrant from authority directed to the constabel of topsfelld, wherein was William Hobbs and Deliverence his wife with many others, and the Marshall did then require me forthwith to go and apprehend the bodys of William Hobs and his wife, which accordingly I did, and I have had sereous thoughts many times since whether my sezing of them might not be some cause of her thus accusing my mother, thereby in some measure to be revenged of me, the woman did show a very bad spirit when I seized her, might allmost be revenge in her face. She looked so maliciously on me, as for my mother, I never saw any harm by her upon any such account, either in word nor action, as she is now accused, for she hath always instructed me well in the Christian religion and the ways of God ever since I was abell to take instructions, and so I leve it all to this honored Cort to consider of it.

Ephraim Willdes

THIRD TRIAL, AUGUST 5, 1692

AT THE THIRD MEETING of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, six more were tried, four men and two women: the Rev. George Burroughs, the minister at Wells, Maine; John Proctor and Elizabeth Proctor, his wife, of Salem Farms; John Willard of Salem Village; George Jacobs, Sr. of Salem; and Martha Carrier of Andover. Not one would confess; all were condemned on August 5, 1692. They were hanged on August 19 with the exception of Proctor's wife who escaped death by pleading for the life of her unborn child.

Burroughs, the minister at Salem Village from 1681 to 1683, had created several enemies there, in particular, the Putnam family. After leaving Salem Village, Burroughs preached at Casco and then at Wells, both towns being in Maine. In his trial he pleaded not guilty. The afflicted girls and some of the confessing witches accused him of being a king in Satan's empire. They claimed that, although he was a small man, he had performed feats beyond the strength of a giant. Burroughs had lost two wives, each by an early death. His second wife had been Sarah (Ruck) Hathorne, widow of the deceased Captain William Hathorne, Jr. The witnesses swore that Sarah had privately complained to the neighbors that their house was haunted by spirits. Cotton Mather claimed that during his trial Burroughs dodged questions and contradicted himself in making his defense. Cotton Mather wrote that Burroughs "was accused by eight of the confessing witches, as being a head actor at some of their hellish rendezvouses, and one who had the promise of being a king in Satan's kingdom, now going to be erected." The "eight of the confessing witches" were Abigail Hobbs, Deliverance Hobbs, Margaret Jacobs, Ann Foster, Mary (Foster)

Lacey, Mary Lacey, Jr., Richard Carrier, and Andrew Carrier. Because of her confession on July 30, Mary Toothaker could also be included in this group.¹⁷⁸

Tried next was John Proctor, a wealthy innkeeper and landowner. While he and his wife were in prison, sheriff George Corwin¹⁷⁹ came to their house and seized all their possessions. The sheriff sold some of their cattle at half price and killed the rest, sending the cured meat to the West Indies for sale. He even drained the beer from a barrel, and carried away the barrel. He emptied a pot of broth and carried away the pot. Nothing was left in the house, not even food, to support the Proctor children. No part of the property was ever returned to the family. In prison Proctor earnestly requested the Rev. Nicholas Noyes to pray with and for him but Noyes refused, ostensibly because Proctor would not admit to being a witch. Proctor asked for a short respite, saying that he was not fit to die, but that too was denied.

John Willard had refused to act as a deputy to arrest some of the accused. Soon afterward he was accused of causing the demise of Daniel Wilkins, a young man who was bewitched to death. The authorities sent men to hunt down and apprehend Willard, who had escaped to Nashaway, about 40 miles from Salem. *our family*

The seizure of the property of a condemned witch for the enrichment of the authorities was standard procedure. When George Jacobs, Sr. was condemned, sheriff George Corwin and officers came and seized all he had. Jacobs' second wife, Mary, had even her wedding ring snatched from her; only after great effort did she eventually recover it. She was forced to buy provisions from the sheriff, things that he had taken, for her own sustenance. Still unable to cope, she was helped by the charity of her neighbors.

Margaret Jacobs, the sixteen-year-old granddaughter of George Jacobs, Sr., had been arrested with him on May 10, 1692.

¹⁷⁸ Cotton Mather, *Wonders*, 120.

¹⁷⁹ Sheriff George Corwin was the nephew of magistrate John Corwin and the son-in-law of magistrate Bartholomew Gedney.

The next day the two were examined separately at Beadles' tavern in Salem Town. An onlooker, Joseph Flint, went into the room where the grandfather was held and told him that his granddaughter had confessed that she was a witch. George Jacobs, Sr. said, "She was charged not to confess." When Flint asked him who charged her, Jacobs reflected and then answered, "If she were innocent, and yet confessed, she would be an accessory to her own death."¹⁸⁰

George Jacobs, Sr. was condemned on August 5. On August 18, the day before he was executed, Margaret retracted her confession and received forgiveness from both him and the Rev. George Burroughs. She made the following declaration to the court. There is no mistaking that Margaret, 16, was a person of exceptional courage and integrity.

"The humble declaration of Margaret Jacobs unto the honored court now sitting at Salem, sheweth: That whereas your poor and humble declarant being closely confined here in Salem jail for the crime of witchcraft, which crime, thanks be to the Lord, I am altogether ignorant of, as will appear at the great day of judgment. May it please the honored court, I was cried out upon by some of the possessed persons, as afflicting of them; whereupon I was brought to my examination, which persons at the sight of me fell down, which did very much startle and affright me. The Lord above knows I knew nothing, in the least measure, how or who afflicted them; they told me, without doubt I did, or else they would not fall down at me; they told me if I would not confess, I should be put down into the dungeon and would be hanged, but if I would confess I should have my life; the which did so affright me, with my own vile wicked heart, to save my life made me make the confession I did, which confession, may it please the honored court, is altogether false and untrue. The very first night after I had made my confession, I was in such horror of conscience that I could not sleep, for fear the Devil should carry me away for telling such horrid lies. I was, may it please the honored court, sworn to my confession, as I understand since, but then, at that time, was ignorant of it, not knowing what an oath did mean. The Lord, I hope, in whom I

180 Essex County Archives, *Witchcraft*, 1:90.

trust, out of the abundance of his mercy, will forgive me my false forswearing myself. What I said was altogether false and untrue, against my grandfather, and Mr. Burroughs, which I did to save my life and to have my liberty; but the Lord, charging it to my conscience, made me in so much horror, that I could not contain myself before I had denied my confession, which I did, though I saw nothing but death before me, choosing rather death with a quiet conscience, than to live in such horror, which I could not suffer. Whereupon my denying my confession, I was committed to close prison, where I have enjoyed more felicity in spirit a thousand times than I did before in my enlargement.

"And now, may it please your honors, your poor and humble declarant having, in part, given your honors a description of my condition, do leave it to your honors' pious and judicious discretions to take pity and compassion on my young and tender years; to act and do with me as the Lord above and your honors shall see good, having no friend but the Lord to plead my cause for me; not being guilty in the least measure of the crime of witchcraft, nor any other sin that deserves death from man; and your poor and humble declarant shall forever pray, as she is bound in duty, for your honors' happiness in this life, and eternal felicity in the world to come. So prays your honors' declarant. Margaret Jacobs."¹⁸¹

Pity and compassion were unknown to the court; the justices understood only the hysterical and inflammatory outcries of Cotton Mather and his fellow clergy. Livid with rage, the court scheduled Margaret Jacobs for trial at the next meeting in September. But Margaret was not brought to trial because she was so ill with an "impotume" on her head that it was expected that she would die in jail. She survived, however, and when tried in January 1693 by the newly formed Superior Court of Judicature, she was found not guilty.

The court, determined to convict Martha Carrier, would stop at nothing. On July 22, 1692, two weeks before her condemnation on August 5, her sons, Andrew Carrier, 15, and Richard Carrier, 18, were arrested, imprisoned in Salem, and examined. The Rev.

181 Thomas Hutchinson, "The Witchcraft Delusion of 1692," 402-403.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE ACCUSED, 1692

*✓ all those checked were either our relatives
or connected to them by marriage*

Charged	Name of accused, Age, Town	Fate after Arrest
November 1691	Martha (Barrett) Sparks, Chelmsford. Committed by Lieut. Gov. Thomas Danforth as a prelude to the Salem witchcraft affair.	Imprisoned more than a year; released on bail December 6, 1692

ARREST PHASE OF SALEM VILLAGE WITCH HUNT

Feb. 29, 1692	Sarah (Solart) Poole Good, 38, Salem Village	Imprisoned; condemned June 30; executed July 29
Feb. 29	Suckling child of Sarah Good, Salem Village	Died in prison in April 1692 from cold and hunger
Feb. 29	Sarah (Warren) Prince Osborne, 50, Salem Village	Imprisoned 9 weeks; died in prison May 10
Feb. 29	Tituba, Salem Village	Imprisoned 13 months; sold to slavery in 1693
Mar. 19	Martha (mnu) Rich Corey, 65, Salem Village	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; executed Sept. 22
Mar. 23	Rebecca (Towne) Nurse, 70, Salem Village	Imprisoned; condemned June 30, executed July 19
Mar. 23	Dorcas Good, 4, Salem Village	Imprisoned almost 9 months; released on bail Dec. 10
Mar. 29	Rachel (Haffield) Clinton, 63, Salem Village	Imprisoned in Ipswich
Apr. 4	Sarah (Towne) Bridges Cloyce, 51, Salem Village	Imprisoned; cleared Jan. 3, 1693
Apr. 4	Elizabeth (Bassett) Proctor, 41, Salem Farms	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; reprieved for pregnancy; released in 1693

Apr. 11	John Proctor, 60, Salem Farms	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; executed Aug. 19
Apr. 18	Giles Corey, 80, Salem Village	Pressed to death, Sept. 19
Apr. 18	Bridget (Playfer) Wasselbe Oliver Bishop, 60, Salem Town	Imprisoned; condemned June 2; executed June 10
Apr. 18	Abigail Hobbs, 22, Topsfield	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; reprieved; released Apr. 1693 after 12 months imprisonment
Apr. 18	Mary Warren, 20, Salem Village	Briefly imprisoned; released as an afflicted person
Apr. 21	William Hobbs, 50, Topsfield	Released 1693
Apr. 21	Deliverance (mnu) Hobbs	Imprisoned 12 months; Released Apr. 1693
Apr. 21	Nehemiah Abbot, Jr., 29, Topsfield	Released at preliminary examination, the only such case
Apr. 21	Mary (Towne) Easty, 51, Salem Village	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; executed Sept. 22
Apr. 21	Sarah (Averill) Wildes, 65, Topsfield	Imprisoned; condemned June 30; executed July 19
Apr. 21	Edward Bishop, Jr., 44, Salem Village	Imprisoned, escaped
Apr. 21	Sarah (Wildes) Bishop, 41, Salem Village	Imprisoned, escaped
Apr. 21	Mary Black, slave, Salem Village	Imprisoned 8 months; cleared by proclamation Jan. 11
Apr. 21	Mary (Hollingsworth) English, 40, Salem Town	Imprisoned at least 6 weeks; escaped
Apr. 27	Thomas Dyer, Ipswich	Imprisoned
Apr. 28	Samuel Passanauton (an Indian)	Imprisoned
unknown	Female slave of Mrs. Thatcher, Boston	Imprisoned
unknown	Mary Cox	Imprisoned; record of irons ordered for her
Apr. 30	Philip English, 41, Salem Town	Imprisoned but escaped

Apr. 30	Lydia (mnu) Dustin, 65, Reading	Imprisoned; found not guilty Jan. 31, 1693; held in prison for fees; died in prison Mar. 10, 1693
Apr. 30	Susannah (North) Martin, 66, Amesbury	Imprisoned; condemned June 30; executed July 19
Apr. 30	Dorcas (Galley) Hoar, 60, Beverly	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; reprieved; released 1693
Apr. 30	Sarah Morrell, 14, Beverly	Imprisoned 35 weeks; "tried and cleared" Jan. 1693
Apr. 30	Rev. George Burroughs, 41, Wells, Maine	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; executed Aug. 19
May 7	Sarah Dustin, 39, Reading	Imprisoned; found not guilty Feb. 1, 1693; held in prison for fees; released March 23, 1693
May 8	Bethia (Pearson) Carter, 47, Woburn	Imprisoned; released on bail Dec. 8
May 8	Bethia Carter, Jr., 21, Woburn	Fled before arrest
May 8	Ann (mnu) Farrar Sears, 71, Woburn	Imprisoned; released on bail Dec. 3
May 10	George Jacobs, Sr., 76, Salem Town	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; executed Aug. 19
May 10	Margaret Jacobs, 16, Salem Town	Imprisoned; released on bail in December; found not guilty Jan. 3, 1693
May 10	John Willard, 33, Salem Village	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; executed Aug. 19
May 12	Alice (mnu) Parker, Salem Town	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; executed Sept. 22
May 12	Ann (mnu) Greenslade Pudeator, 65, Salem Town	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; executed Sept. 22
May 13	Abigail Somes, 37, Salem Town	Imprisoned; cleared Jan. 6, 1693

May 13	Thomas Hardy, Great Island, NH	
May 14	Daniel Andrew, 48, Salem Village	Fled before arrest
May 14	George Jacobs, Jr., 50, Salem Village	Fled before arrest
May 14	Rebecca (Andrew) Frost Jacobs, 46, Salem Village	Imprisoned 6 months; found not guilty on Jan. 3, 1693
May 14	Sarah (Smith) Buckley, 70, Salem Village	Imprisoned over 8 months; found not guilty on Jan. 4, 1693
May 14	Mary (Buckley) Whittredge, 27, Salem Village	Imprisoned over 8 months; found not guilty on Jan. 4, 1693
May 14	Elizabeth (Hutchinson) Hart, 65, Lynn	Imprisoned 7 months; cleared January 1693
May 14	Thomas Farrar, Sr., 75, Lynn	Imprisoned 7 months; cleared by proclamation Jan. 12, 1693
May 14	Elizabeth Colson, 15, Reading	Fled; captured Sept. 14 and imprisoned
May 15	Mehitabel (Brabrook) Downing, 40, Ipswich	Imprisoned at Ipswich prison
May 18	Dr. Roger Toothaker, 58, Billerica	Imprisoned; died in prison June 16
May 21	Sarah Proctor, 15, Salem Farms	Imprisoned
May 21	Sarah (Hood) Bassett, 35, Lynn	Imprisoned; cleared on Jan. 3, 1693
May 21	Susannah (mnu) Roots, 70, Beverly	Imprisoned
May 23	Benjamin Proctor, 33, Salem Farms	Imprisoned "several months."
May 23	Mary (Bassett) De Rich, 35, Salem Village	Imprisoned about 6 months
May 23	Sarah (mnu) Pease, Salem Town	Imprisoned
May 28	Elizabeth (Walker) Cary, 42, Charlestown	Imprisoned; escaped
May 28	Capt. John Alden Jr., 69, Boston	Imprisoned; house arrest 15 weeks; escaped; cleared by proclamation Apr. 25, 1693
May 28	Capt. John Floyd, 55, Malden	Imprisoned
May 28	Elizabeth (mnu) Betts Fosdick, 32, Malden	Imprisoned

May 28	Wilmot (mnu) Redd, 55, Marblehead	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; executed Sept. 22
May 28	Sarah (mnu) Davis Rice, 61, Reading	Imprisoned
May 28	William Proctor, 17, Salem Farms	Imprisoned; cleared Jan. 1693
May 28	Elizabeth (Jackson) Howe, 54, Topsfield	Imprisoned; condemned June 30; executed July 19
May 28	Arthur Abbot, 53, Topsfield	Imprisoned
May 28	Martha (Allen) Carrier, 38, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; executed Aug. 19
May 28	Mary (Allen) Toothaker, 47, Billerica	Imprisoned; found not guilty Feb. 1, 1693
May 28	Margaret Toothaker, 9, Billerica	Imprisoned
June 2	Elizabeth (Carrington) Paine, 53, Charlestown	Imprisoned
June 1	Sarah Churchill, 20, Salem Village	Briefly imprisoned; then released as an afflicted person
June 4	Mary (Leach) Ireson, 32, Lynn	Imprisoned
June 4	Job Tookey, 27, Beverly	Imprisoned; found not guilty on Jan. 5, 1693
June 6	Ann (Higginson) Dolliver, 29, Gloucester	Imprisoned
✓ June 28	Mary (Perkins) Bradbury, 75, Salisbury	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; escaped
✓ July 1	Margaret (mnu) Hawkes, Salem Town	Imprisoned
July 1	Candy, female slave, Salem Town	Imprisoned; found not guilty on Jan. 6, 1693
c. July 15	Elizabeth Scargen	Imprisoned
c. July 15	child of Elizabeth Scargen	Imprisoned; died in prison
ARREST PHASE OF ANDOVER WITCH HUNT		
July 15, 1692	Ann (mnu) Foster, 72, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; reprieved; died in prison Dec. 1692
July 19	Mary (Foster) Lacey, 40, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; reprieved; pardoned in 1693

July 19	Mary Lacey, Jr., 18, Andover	Imprisoned 10 weeks; released on bail Oct. 6; found not guilty Jan. 13, 1693
July 21	Richard Carrier, 18, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail mid October
July 21	Andrew Carrier, 15, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail mid October
July 22	Martha (Toothaker) Emerson, 24, Haverhill	Imprisoned; cleared Jan. 12, 1693
July 28	Mary (Tyler) Post Bridges, 48, Andover	Imprisoned; found not guilty Jan. 12, 1693
July 30	Hannah (mnu) Tyler Brumidge, 60, Haverhill	Imprisoned in Ipswich prison; cleared Jan. 1693
July 30	Mary (Green) Green, 34, Haverhill	Imprisoned in Ipswich prison; released on bail, Dec. 16
c. Aug. 1	Rebecca (Blake) Eames, 51, Boxford	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; reprieved; released Mar. 1693 after 7 months in prison
Aug. 2	Mary Post, 28, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Jan. 12, 1693; reprieved; released April 1693 after more than 8 months in prison
Aug. 3	Mary (Johnson) Davis Clarke, 53, Haverhill	Imprisoned in Ipswich prison
Aug. 5	Margaret (Stevenson) Scott, 72, Beverly	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; executed Sept. 22
c. Aug. 9	Daniel Eames, 29, Boxford	Imprisoned
c. Aug. 10	Thomas Carrier, Jr., 10, Andover	Imprisoned; Released on bail Oct. 6
c. Aug. 10	Sarah Carrier, 7, Andover	Imprisoned; Released on bail Oct. 6
Aug. 10	Elizabeth Johnson Jr., 22, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Jan. 12, 1693; reprieved; imprisoned 6 months; released Feb. 1693

Aug. 11	Abigail (Dane) Faulkner, 40, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; reprieved for pregnancy; released about Dec. 8
c. Aug. 15	Samuel Wardwell, 49, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; executed Sept. 22
c. Aug. 15	Edward Farrington, 30, Andover	Imprisoned
c. Aug. 15	Sarah Parker, 22, Andover	Imprisoned 17 weeks; released on bail about Dec. 12
Aug. 18	Frances (mnu) Hutchins, 75, Haverhill	Imprisoned; released on bail Dec. 21
Aug. 18	Ruth Wilford, 17, Haverhill	Imprisoned
Aug. 25	Susannah Post, 31, Andover	Imprisoned; found not guilty May 10, 1693
Aug. 25	Hannah Post, 26, Boxford	Imprisoned; found not guilty Jan. 12, 1693
Aug. 25	Sarah Bridges, 17, Andover	Imprisoned 6 weeks; released on bail about October 6; found not guilty Jan. 12, 1693
Aug. 25	Mary Bridges, Jr., 13, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail October 15; found not guilty May 12, 1693
Aug. 25	Mary Barker, 13, Andover	Imprisoned 6 weeks; released on bail about Oct. 10; found not guilty May 10, 1693
Aug. 25	William Barker, Sr., 46, Andover	Imprisoned; escaped
Aug. 25	Mary (Osgood) Marston, 27, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail Dec. 20; found not guilty Jan. 12, 1693
Aug. 25	John Jackson, Sr., 50, Rowley	Imprisoned
Aug. 25	John Jackson, Jr., 22, Rowley	Imprisoned
Aug. 25	John Howard, 48, Rowley	Imprisoned
Aug. 29	Elizabeth (Dane) Johnson, 51, Andover	Imprisoned 5 months; found not guilty Jan. 7, 1693
Aug. 29	Abigail Johnson, 10, Andover	Imprisoned 5 weeks; released on bail Oct. 6
Aug. 30	Stephen Johnson, 13, Andover	Imprisoned 5 weeks; released on bail Oct. 6

Sept. 1	William Barker, Jr., 14, Andover	Imprisoned 6 weeks; released on bail about Oct. 10; found not guilty May 10, 1693
Sept. 1	Sarah (Hooper) Hawkes Wardwell, 42, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Jan. 10, 1693; reprieved; released spring 1693
Sept. 1	Rebecca Wardwell, nearly a year old, Andover	Imprisoned with mother
Sept. 1	Sarah Hawkes, 21, Andover	Imprisoned 5 months; found not guilty Jan. 10, 1693
Sept. 1	Mercy Wardwell, 18, Andover	Imprisoned; found not guilty Jan. 10, 1693
Sept. 1	Mary (Ayer) Parker, 55, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; executed Sept. 22
Sept. 3	Elizabeth (Austin) Dicer, Gloucester	Imprisoned in Ipswich prison
Sept. 3	Margaret (mnu) Prince, 62, Gloucester	Imprisoned in Ipswich prison
Sept. 5	Mary (Dustin) Colson, 41, Reading	Imprisoned; released Mar. 2, 1693
Sept. 5	Jane (mnu) Lilly, 48, Reading	Imprisoned; released on bail Dec. 8; cleared Feb. 3, 1693
Sept. 5	Mary (Harrington) Taylor, 40, Reading	Imprisoned; found not guilty Feb. 1, 1693
Sept. 5	Joseph Emons, Manchester	Imprisoned
Sept. 5	Nicholas Frost, Portland, N.H.	
Sept. 7	Deliverance (Haseltine) Dane, 37, Andover	Imprisoned 13 weeks; released about Dec. 8
Sept. 7	Rebecca (Aslet) Johnson, 40, Andover	Imprisoned 13 weeks; released on bail about Dec. 8; case dismissed Jan. 7, 1693
Sept. 7	Rebecca Johnson, Jr., 17, Andover	Imprisoned 13 weeks; released on bail about Dec. 8
Sept. 7	Mary (Clement) Osgood, 55, Andover	Imprisoned 15 weeks; released on bail Dec. 20; found not guilty Jan. 12, 1693

LIST OF THE ACCUSED

Sept. 7	Eunice (Potter) Frye, 51, Andover	Imprisoned 15 weeks; released on bail Dec. 20; found not guilty May 10, 1693
Sept. 7	Sarah (Lord) Wilson, 44, Andover	Imprisoned 15 weeks; released on bail about Dec. 20; cleared May 1693
Sept. 7	Sarah Wilson, Jr., 14, Andover	Imprisoned 6 weeks; released on bail about Oct. 15; cleared May 1693
Sept. 7	Abigail (Wheeler) Barker, 36, Andover	Imprisoned 18 weeks; found not guilty Jan. 6, 1693
Sept. 7	Mary (Lovett) Tyler, 40, Andover	Imprisoned; found not guilty Jan. 7, 1693
Sept. 7	Hannah Tyler, 14, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail about Oct. 15; found not guilty Jan. 5, 1693
Sept. 7	Joanna Tyler, 11, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail about Oct. 6; cleared May 1693
Sept. 7	Martha Tyler, 11, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail about Oct. 6; cleared May 1693
Sept. 7	Abigail Faulkner, Jr., 9, Andover	Imprisoned 1 month; released on bail Oct. 6; cleared by proclamation May 1693
Sept. 7	Dorothy Faulkner, 12, Andover	Imprisoned 1 month; released on bail Oct. 6; cleared by proclamation May 1693
Sept. 7	John Sadie, Jr., 13, Andover	Imprisoned
Sept. 7	Joseph Draper, 21, Andover	Imprisoned
Sept. 7	Henry Salter, 65, Andover	No record of further legal action
Sept. 7	Male slave of Nathaniel Dane, Andover	Imprisoned 8 weeks

LIST OF THE ACCUSED

ARREST PHASE OF RESIDUAL ACCUSATIONS		
Sept. 10, 1692	Hannah (mnu) Carroll, Salem Town	Imprisoned
Sept. 10	Sarah (Davis) Cole, 42, Salem Town	Imprisoned; released on bail Jan. 14, 1693; cleared May 1693
Sept. 13	Joanna (mnu) Brabrook Penny, 72, Gloucester	Imprisoned in Ipswich
Oct. 1	Sarah (Aslet) Cole, 30, Lynn	Imprisoned; found not guilty Feb. 1, 1693; returned to prison for fees; released Mar. 23, 1693
Early Oct. 1692	Phoebe (Wildes) Day, 39, Gloucester	Imprisoned at Ipswich
Early Oct. 1692	Mary (Prince) Rowe, 34, Gloucester	Imprisoned at Ipswich
Early Oct. 1692	Rachel (Varney) Cooke Langton Vinson, 62, Gloucester	Imprisoned at Ipswich
Nov. 5	Rebecca (Dolliver) Dike, 41, Gloucester	Imprisoned
Nov. 5	James Dike, infant, few weeks old, Gloucester	Imprisoned with mother
Nov. 5	Esther (Dutch) Elwell, 53, Gloucester	Imprisoned
Nov. 5	Abigail Rowe, 15, Gloucester	Imprisoned
Unknown	John Durrant, 44, Billerica	Died in Cambridge prison Oct. 27, 1693
Unknown	Henry Somers	Imprisoned at Cambridge
Unknown	Edward Wooland	Imprisoned at Salem
Unknown	Three or four men	Imprisoned at Ipswich
Unknown	Mary Watkins, a young white woman unable to pay her prison fees	Imprisoned, sold as a slave after August 11, 1693



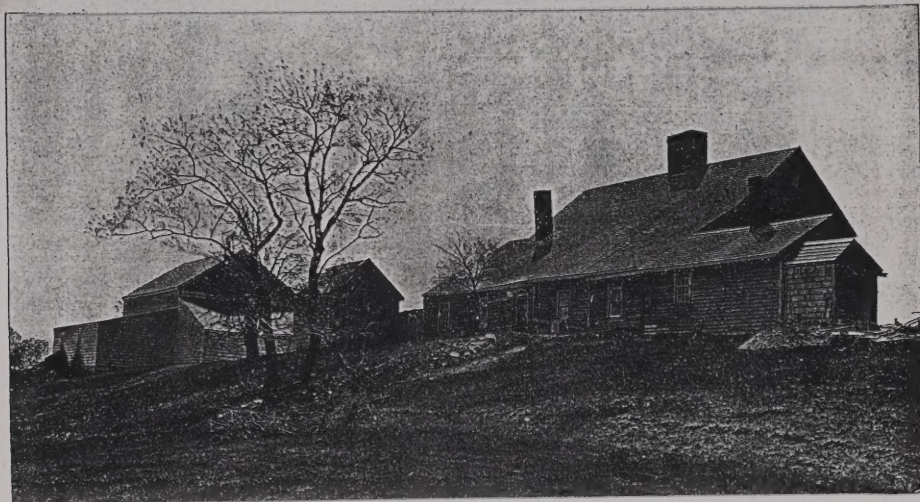
THE GEORGE JACOBS HOUSE.

Taken from Vol. I, Danvers
Historical Society Collections,
printed about 1890.

ABOUT GEORGE JACOBS AND HIS HOUSE

Sarah Averill Wildes, sister of our ancestor Will Averill, Jr., was hung as a witch in 1692. So was 76 year old George Jacobs, Sr. The next year her widower, John Wildes, married his widow, Mrs. Mary Jacobs.

The article by Ezra Hines describes the house the Jacobs family was living in at the time of his arrest--built, incidentally, on land purchased on 11 Nov. 1658 from one of our Dodge family ancestors, Richard Waters.



THE GEORGE JACOBS HOUSE. (REAR VIEW.)

GEORGE JACOBS AND HIS HOME.

By EZRA D. HINES.

READ AT A MEETING OF THIS SOCIETY AT THE JACOBS
HOUSE.

"What can be better worth knowing of any place, than the historical associations which link it with the past."

Nearly three centuries ago our ancestors sought a home in this western world. Many of them landed at Naumkeag, the Salem of today. On every side a beautiful prospect met their gaze. This new found habitation was situate between two rivers, the one on the north called the Naumkeag or North river, while to that upon the south these new comers gave the name of the South river. The land north of the North river, and the land south of the South river, they called North fields, and South fields, respectively.

Some account of the North fields, or North neck, as these fields were sometimes called, will be appropriate. Three sides of this neck of land bounded on a river, while the fourth or western side joined the main land. The river on the south side was called the North or Naumkeag river, the waters of which flowed across to the town of Salem proper; the river on the east side they called Wooleston, across the waters of which could be seen Royal side; and the river upon the north side they called Cow House or Endecott river, the waters of which on its northern side washed the shores of the Endecott grant.

These North fields contained many acres, comprising fields, woods, marshes and pastures green. In 1642, the proprietors of these fields decided to protect them by a four-rail fence, to extend from Cow House river to the head of the North river, across the main land, and a few years later, having granted many lots to the early settlers,—ten acres being a common grant,—the proprietors ordered that each lot be divided from

the other lots by fencing the same, and upon each fence should be carved the initials of the owner's name. Let me now confine my remarks in particular to one of these ten acre lots, into which this neck was divided.

In 1658, Richard Waters of Salem was possessed of a ten acre lot, proven by this fact, that on Nov. 25th of that year he disposed of the same, with a house thereon, for £16, to George Jacobs, a planter, also of Salem. The house it would seem for the price paid, must have been small and rude. The present house undoubtedly was erected not long after the middle of the seventeenth century, and thus has survived the Colonial and Provincial eras and is still with us in these days of the Commonwealth, a building upon which, during a part of the seventeenth, all of the eighteenth and nineteenth and now in this twentieth century the Sun, the great luminary of day, has let fall his early morning rays.

And now concerning George Jacobs, the occupant of this house. When Mr. Jacobs came to live upon these acres evidently in 1658 or 59, he was probably not far from forty-six years of age. His coming here is the first we know of him; he may have just come to this country, or he may have been living in some other part of the colony, earlier. Richard Waters, of whom he purchased this land, had been here since 1636, and perhaps before that time. This fact is evident, that George Jacobs showed good taste in securing these acres, certainly a beautiful situation, sloping gracefully upon the northern side to the river, across which was the land owned by John Endecott, at that time the Governor, having been in that office since 1655. Across the river on the east was Royal Side, and looking away to the north was a hill, old indeed then, the "Long hill" of ancient days.

Upon these acres, Mr. Jacobs lived for many years the simple life of a respectable farmer and God-fearing man, tilling the soil and later reaping the fruits of his labor. He had seen many seasons come and go. As he looked over to Royal side, he may have desired to own some of the fields there, which in later years he was able to acquire. Here was good pasture land, and thither did he send his cows and horses for pasturage, and perhaps, he, as did his descendants, crossed the river at low tide by means of stones laid upon the flats upon either side of the channel, and through this channel he may have waded. It must be remembered that this house was in the early days in Salem, (North fields) and not in Salem Village. All around him were settlements upon five or ten acre lots. Here he had for neighbors, John Tompkins,

Henry Cooke, Thomas Gardner, George Williams, John Small, Ralph Tompkins and perhaps others. Near his house ran a highway to the waters of the Wooleston river. Not far away was the Great Cove, which is still called by that name. Here George Jacobs lived the ordinary life of a farmer, with his share of pleasure and of sorrow, and he was no doubt a good neighbor and kind friend.

Pass over some thirty or more years, after Mr. Jacobs procured this home and came to the North fields to live, and picture the scene. The spring time of 1692 has come, and nature as ever, is bright and gay. The trees are putting forth leaf, and later will come the flowers. It is, however, the last spring time on earth that George Jacobs will behold. He is now an old man, extremely old, he is feeble, too, and supports himself with two canes as he moves about. He has lived beyond the three score years and ten allotted by the Psalmist, having exceeded that limit by ten years or more. His active life is over, and he has now reached a time when he can enjoy rest and quiet, and we may well believe, as he sits in this old home, or walks over the acres of his farm, that the recollection of events in his early life are passing through his mind. Indeed, he is in a retrospective mood; and later, after thinking of the past and realizing that now the cares and toils of life are nearly over,—that past is for the time being forgotten,—and now he eagerly gazes forward with faith and hope into that unknown future, to which his steps are fast tending. He may think that as now his hair is thin and white and upon his brow there is a record of many years' cares, now ended, that it is his time to die; but it was a natural death that he no doubt desired. Alas! how different was his departure from the world!

Such, we may believe, was the condition of George Jacobs when those dreadful black clouds hovered over Salem Village, and Salem, and at last broke in all their fury upon the people; that fearful delusion which we call Salem Witchcraft and into which whirlpool, George Jacobs, without any fault of his, was drawn. A finger pointed to him, aye, several fingers, as a wizard, and this old man was seized, and afterward condemned. On May 10, 1692, there comes a man to this old home. He comes armed with authority, he comes to arrest George Jacobs, Sr., and other members of his family. Mr. Jacobs may have been out of doors somewhere on the farm, or in the old house, but as soon as apprehended, the officer reads the following warrant:

"To the Constables of Salem. You are in their Majests names hereby required to apprehend and forthwith bring before vs George Jacobs Senr. of Salem, And Margaret Jacobs the daughter of George Jacobs Junr. of Salem, Singlewoman, Who stand accused of high suspicion of sundry acts of witchcraft by them both committed on sundry persons in Salem, to their great wrong and Injury, and hereof faile not. Dated Salem, May 10th, 1692.

John Hathorne }
Jonathan Corwin } Assistants

To constable Joseph Neale."

And this is the return of the constable:

"May ye 10th 1692. Then I Apprehended the Bodyes of George Jacobs Senr and Margaret Jacobs, daughter of George Jacobs Junr. Both of Salem, According the Tenor of the Aboue warrant p me

"Joseph Neale Constable in Salem."

Consider the effect the reading of this warrant must have produced upon this old man over four-score years of age. It takes but little imagination to believe that he must have been shocked, stunned; it seems as though he must have broken down completely. To think that he must go with this man, that he, as it were, almost ready to die, must leave this old home perhaps never again to enter it,—which proved to be the case,—must have filled his mind with sorrow and caused tears to trickle down his aged cheeks. But there was no alternative, he must go, he must obey. He was taken into Salem town for examination. Here he was subjected on the same day to a most rigid questioning. When accused of acts of witchcraft, he replied, "I never did it," and when asked who did it, his answer was, "Don't ask me."

"Why should we not ask you? Sarah Churchill accuseth you, there she is." "I am as innocent as the child born tonight. I have lived 33 years here in Salem."

In answer to another question, he said:

"I never wronged no man, in word or deed."

Near the close of examination, evidently tired, and almost broken down, and yet, never more firm in the assertion of his innocence, he replied, "Well, burn me or hang me, I will stand in the truth of Christ. I know nothing of it."

He is examined a second time on the next day, and soon afterward is taken to Boston jail, where he is confined with others for about six weeks. He is then brought back to Salem, and confined in the jail here, until the day of his

trial before the great court of Oyer and Terminer, presided over by Lt. Gov. Stoughton. He is convicted, and is once more sent to jail, to await the day of his execution.

Something now in relation to Margaret Jacobs, the granddaughter of George Jacobs, Sr., who was arrested at the same time. Her experience while confined in jail was a severe one. In her endeavor to save her own life, she verified the teachings of holy writ, and indeed, while yet living in the flesh, lost her own life. She made a declaration or confession, in which she accused her feeble old grandfather of being guilty of witchcraft. She also accused Rev. George Burroughs of being guilty of the same. How she suffered for this cruel and wicked act of becoming a false witness and testifying against her grandfather, to whom she was so closely bound by those tender ties of relationship and of love! She finally recanted, saying, "I was told, if I would not confess, I should be put down into the dungeon and would be hanged; but if I would confess, I should have my life—the which, did so affright me, with my own vile wicked heart, to save my life, made me make the like confession I did, which confession may it please the honored court is altogether false and untrue. The very first night after I had made confession, I was in such horror of conscience that I could not sleep, for fear the Devil should carry me away for telling such horrid lies. What I said against my grandfather and Mr. Burroughs, was altogether false, which I did to save my life, and to have my liberty, but the Lord charging it to my conscience, made me in so much horror that I could not contain myself before I had denied my confession, which I did, though I saw nothing but death before me, choosing rather death with a quiet conscience, than to live in such horror, which I could not suffer."

Regret as one may her accusations, we must ever hold her in high honor for the withdrawal of these charges. This recantation she read before the court. A temporary illness led to the postponement of her trial, and before the next sitting of the court, the delusion had passed away. She visited Mr. Burroughs the day before his execution, and he freely forgave her, and prayed with her, and for her. It is thought that she may have seen her grandfather on the same day and implored his forgiveness also. Be that so or not, it is evident that her grandfather heard with joy of her conduct, and having made his will on the 12th of August, a week before his execution, he afterward crowded into a space between two paragraphs, in small letters, closely written, a clause, giving her a legacy of "ten pounds to be paid in silver." The will,

however, was inoperative, having been made after conviction. The General Court, however, nearly twenty years afterward, endeavored to have the same paid out of the Province treasury. Margaret Jacobs lived many years after the days of the witchcraft delusion.

And now comes the final scene. It is August 19th, 1692. To the old jail in Salem is brought a cart in which are placed Rev. George Burroughs, John Willard, John Proctor, Martha Carrier and George Jacobs, Sr. Through the streets of Salem moves this vehicle on its way to the hill of execution, ever since, the hill of sorrow. A great number of spectators are present witnessing to their death. Cotton Mather is there strong in the denunciation of these people, and eager for their execution. So are Revs. Hale and Noyes, and many others. All of the accused have asserted their innocence, but listen, ere the fatal moment arrives, Rev. George Burroughs, in the presence of the people assembled, lifts his voice in a dying prayer to his Father and his God, closing by repeating the Lord's prayer, thus proving conclusively to many his innocence, as it was asserted that no witch or wizard could repeat the Lord's prayer. No evidence has come down to us whether George Jacobs, Sr., uttered any farewell, by speech or prayer. Firm and heroic in life, it cannot be doubted, that he was such in death. 'Tis over now, the last act has been accomplished, and the darkness of night has fallen, to cover, for a time at least the wicked deeds of the children of men. No! this was not the final act in this sad affair! There was another and a brighter, which it is well to remember.

Oft-times on a summer afternoon, near the close of day, dark clouds gather in the western sky, which, later break apart, and reveal to view the Sun, slowly sinking in the west enveloped in a blaze of golden splendour, so on that dreadful day, the great black clouds then hanging over and about the community, parted, just long enough to show the performance of a beautiful, heroic, loving and tender act—so tradition says, and a tradition that has come down from the past, bearing the stamp of truth. A grandson of George Jacobs, after his execution, took from the place where it had been thrown down, the body of his revered and honored grandfather, and carefully strapping the form upon his horse's back, slowly and sadly, wended his way to the old house and farm, where beneath the shade of the trees which this old man had grown and nurtured, and under the sods, over which his feet had so often trod,—the body was tenderly and reverently laid away,—a loving deed, performed by loving hands.

June 5, 1680.

Book iii. Fol. 132. July 10, 1683.

Deed from Peter Wearse Sr. of Neck containing 27 acres on East side of Cape Neddick river in York to Thomas Everell some tyms of Wells (consideration 514). the tract of land lying and being about one mile on the Eastward side of Cape Nuddacke River, beginning on the South side of a small pond of water

July 10, 1683; Also B. v. Folio 109, in deed of Peter Ware of Cape Neddick, 28 day —, 1687, the land of Thomas Avery of Cape Neddick is mentioned.

Book viii. p. 178. Oct. 10, 1689.

I Thomas Averell of Cape Nuduck in ye Co. of York in the Province of Maine Planter do sell to Francis Littlefield Sen'r of the Town of Wells a certain land commonly known by the name of Tatnack about 6 miles from the Town of Wells two hundred acres

Oct. 10, 1689.

(Signed) Thomas Averell.

(Frances Littlefield was from Ipswich, Essex Co., Mass., as is shown by the next deed to the above in *York Co. Deeds*, Book viii.)

4. Sarah¹ Averell, called Averill, Averie, Avery (*William*¹), was b. probably between 1630 and 1635, and was one of the seven children mentioned in her father's will.

She passed her youth at Ipswich, Mass. Nov. 23, 1663 (*Ct. R.*), she became the second wife of John Wildes (Wild, Wilde, Wiles, Wyles) of Topsfield, Mass., whose first wife, Priscilla Gould (dau. of Zacheus) had d. April 16, 1663 (*Topsfield V. R.*), leaving a large family. John¹ Wildes was b. abt. 1615 (by dep. made 30.11.1677, when he was 62 years of age). He sailed from London, England, by the ship "Elizabeth," in July, 1635. The ship's passenger list included three Wilds; "William Wild, aged thirty (30): Alice Wild, aged forty (40): John Wild, aged seventeen (17):" who came together. Ages were often incorrect in those passenger lists, so that the difference between 17 and 20 years is not of importance.

In 1639 Mr. Wildes took up land with Endicott, Simon Bradstreet and others at what was then called New Meadows, and about ten years later (1648), Topsfield. He became a prominent citizen of that town, holding many important offices such as jurymen of trials in the County Court, etc., as shown

Witchcraft" period, and later in the Southern portion of our country.

With few exceptions the most eminent men, in both countries, believed in the reality of these evidences of supernatural power, and credited much of the testimony rendered in witchcraft cases. Therefore when the flame kindled in Salem Village the majority of people of all classes accepted the phenomena as evidences of Satanic influence, even if they believed many of the accusations unjust or without grounds.

It is believed that the chief instigator of these tragic experiences was a West Indian slave woman by the name of Tituba (or Tittuba) who belonged to the Minister of Salem Village, Mr. Samuel Parris; and that she initiated some of the Minister's household—the young people and their friends and neighbors—into her voodoo necromancy. The results of their intimate association amazed and terrified not only the Minister, but the whole neighbourhood; and the young people, affected by her instructions, accused of witchcraft not only their Indian leader in mischief, Tituba, but also Sarah Good and Sarah Osburn, all of Salem Village.

Warrants were at once issued for their arrest on Feb. 29, 1692; and they were all examined before the Magistrates of Salem Village Mar. 1, 1692, and sent to the jails in the County of Essex. The "afflicted children" who claimed to be bewitched by the accused were Elizabeth Parris Jr. (nine years of age) dau. of the minister; Abigail Williams, a niece of Mr. Parris and a member of his household (eleven years of age); Ann Putnam Jr. (twelve years of age); Elizabeth Hubbard (seventeen years of age). All of these it is believed had become the only too apt pupils of Tituba during the winter of 1691-2, between the first of December and last of February.

On March 12, 1692, Mrs. Martha Corey, a woman of unusual mental equipage and excellence of character, was accused, and a warrant for her arrest issued March 19. On March 23, a warrant was issued for the arrest of Mrs. Rebecca Nurse, a noble and highly esteemed woman; immediately after a tiny child of four or five years, Dorcas or Dorothy, dau. of Sarah Good, was accused, and a warrant issued for her apprehension; and she like all the others was committed to jail.

by the published records of the town in *The Historical Collections of the Topsfield Historical Society*.

In these published records his name first appears Dec. 4, 1643: Jo. Wilds (paid) 3s. for serving against the Indians the previous year; and March 25, 1659, as John "Wildes," and not long after we find this entry:

"At a lawful Towne Meeting the 7 March 1664: It is ordered that the timber of the five hundred acres of common lands on the other side of the river which is to remaine common to perpetuity is to be devided by John Wiles Willi Auereil Thomas Baker & Edmond Towne or either three of them into three equal proportions as two foure and six according to that rule to be devided. Voted."

Apart from the marriage of his sister Sarah, this is the first association of William Averell and John Wildes which we find recorded; but many others appear later in their common committee work for the public good, as those published records prove.

William Wild or Wildes, John's uncle, settled at Ipswich in 1635. He died in 1668, and as the quit claim deed of Edward Bishop and others, heirs of William Wild or Wildes, recites, William gave his lands to his nephew John, son of his brother John, and said John, deceased, made conveyance to John Harris, locksmith.

The children of John (Wild) in this deed, quit claimed to Harris their interest in the house and an acre of land sold to Harris Dec. 14, 1685. Apr. 15, 1690, John "Wills" and Sarah Wilds witnessed the will of Sarah's brother William Averell; and June 30, 1690, they both made oath in Court at Salem that they were the said witnesses (See Will, pp. 86 and 87), and saw him sign the will. The following year, in the month of March, 1692, in the Village of Salem (now Danvers), came the climax in New England of those incredible delusions which Cotton Mather called "a prodigious possession of devils, which it was then generally thought had been by witchcraft introduced;" and Sarah Averell Wildes became one of the first victims of the accusations made at that time.

The belief in witchcraft was prevalent everywhere in Europe as well as in America at this time; and sporadic cases were recorded in New England from 1648 down to this "Salem

April 4, Mrs. Sarah Cloyse and Mrs. Elizabeth Proctor were accused and tried April 11, before a Council held at Salem with deputy-governor Thomas Danforth Esq. present, instead of two Magistrates. Abigail Williams, Ann Putnam, Mercy Lewis and Mrs. Bubber witnessed against one or both of them; Benjamin Gould testified against "Goodman Corey and his wife, Procter and his wife, Goody Cloyse, Goody Nurse and Goody Griggs."

"The transaction now became a Massachusetts affair," says Upham in his *History of Salem Witchcraft*.

"The 18 of April warrants were out against Giles Corey and Mary Warren both of Salem Farms, Abigail Hobb (dau. of William Hobbs, of Topsfield), and Bridget Bishop, wife of Edward Bishop of Salem;" they were committed to prison, and two days after, April 21, warrants were issued against William Hobbs and Deliverance his wife; Nehemiah Abbott, Jr., Mrs. Mary Easty, wife of Isaac Easty, and Mrs. Sarah Wilds, the wife of John Wilds, all of the town of Topsfield or Ipswich; and Edward Bishop and Mrs. Sarah Bishop his wife (dau. of John Wilds of Topsfield), of Salem Village, and Mary Black a negress of the Village, and Mrs. Mary English, wife of Philip English of Salem.

Our Sarah Averell Wildes found herself in an elect company and proved herself by her patience, fortitude, and Christian virtues quite worthy her companions, she at no time weakening or retracting her first denial of guilt and affirmation of innocence, and meeting her dreadful end in a way that elicited no hostile public comments from those who were only too willing to see evil in all the accused.

It is now known that many of the accused belonged to the better classes instead of the lowest as first thought. Six of those accused April 21, belonged to good families of Topsfield. Mrs. Easty's husband and Mrs. Wildes' husband were associated in the affairs of that town and in connection with the division line between it and Salem in 1686. Mr. Hobbs and Mr. Abbot were old residents of the place. Mrs. Wildes' son, Ephraim, was filling the then very important office of Constable of Topsfield. Sarah Wildes Bishop was his step-sister

and therefore the step-daughter of Mrs. Wildes (Jonathan Bishop, son of the above Sarah Bishop, m. about 1699 Abigail Averell, the niece of Sarah Averell Wildes and dau. of William Averell of Topsfield). As Mrs. Nurse and Mrs. Cloyce were sisters of Mrs. Easty, in so limited a town as Topsfield they must have been well known to Mrs. Wildes, apart from her knowledge of Salem Village people through her daughter-in-law's residence there. Upham also implies a relationship between either Sarah Averell Wildes or Sarah Wildes Bishop and Rebecca Nurse which we have not yet been able to verify or disprove. Mrs. Bridget Bishop was of course well known to Mrs. Wildes as being the step-mother of Edward Bishop. Elizabeth How, wife of James How, Jr., of Ipswich, was the daughter of William and Joan Jackson of Rowley and prob. related to Sarah Averell Wild's sister-in-law, Hannah Jackson, wife of William² Averell.

Upham (from whose *Salem Witchcraft* most of the above data has been taken) believed that back of this terrible "possession" of evil spirits lay the years of feud between Ipswich, Topsfield and Salem, relative to Salem Village boundaries; and a disagreement relative to the two Salem Village ministers, Mr. George Burrows and Mr. Samuel Parris. In the light of our time, 1907, it might be attributed,—according to one's belief,—to suggestion, hypnotism, or "malicious animal magnetism." The results were a blot upon that period of our Colonial History, however we may account for it. This epidemic lasted about six months before the reaction came. During that period twenty persons suffered death, fifty-four were tortured or frightened into a confession of witchcraft; and when a special Court convened Oct., 1699, one hundred and fifty accused persons were still in prison. Sarah Wildes, wife of John Wildes, was arrested Apr. 22, 1692, on a warrant issued the day before.

John Buxton and Thomas Putnam went down to Salem from the Village on the 21st and complained of Mrs. Wildes to the justices. The justices issued their warrant to Marshal Herrick to arrest her and bring her to Lieut. Nathaniel Ingersoll's.

It has been said that her own son had to arrest her, but Nevins states that the Marshall of Salem served the warrant

on Sarah Wildes and that young Wildes arrested Mr. Hobbs and his wife. The testimony of her son shows, that according to his belief, Mr. and Mrs. Hobbs, after being seized by Constable Wildes, accused his Mother in revenge for his legal action. She and the others, arrested on the 22nd, were brought in to Lieut. Ingersoll's before the magistrates, examined, committed for trial, and condemned.

We give only abstracts from the records as published by Ira Hutch which are almost literally as they appear in the *Record of Salem Witchcraft copied from the Original Records*, by W. Elliot Woodward, 1864, although Hutch's copy was made in 1859.

In these records it will be seen that Sarah Wildes' husband and child said only good of the beloved wife and mother, and that they tried their best to save her.

(For other records of the trial, see *The Wildes Family of Essex Co., Mass.*, by Walter Davis, Jr., in *The Essex Institute Hist. Colls.* Vol. xlii, pp. 137-143 inc., April, 1906.)

It may be well to insert here the following testimony of John Wilds as it refers to Sarah Averill Wildes' brother, and also the testimony of her son Ephraim (Ira Hutch's *Salem Witchcraft*, p. 204).

"John Wilds testifieth that he did hear yt Mary the wife of Jno Reddington did raise a report yt my wife had bewitched her and I went to ye said Jno Reddington & told him I would arrest him for his wife defaming of my wife but ye said Reddington desired me not to do it for it would but waste his estate and yt his wife would be done it in time and yt he knew nothing she had against my wife . . . after this I got my brother Averill to go to ye said Sarah Reddington & my sd Bro^r told me yt he told ye said Sarah Reddington yt if she had anything ag^t my wife yt he would be a means and would help her to bring my wife out; but yt ye said Sarah Reddington replied yt she knew no harm my wife had done her." (The year and month that John Wildes' "brother Averill" spoke to Sarah Reddington does not appear in said document. But William Averill died April 23, 1691, and as the accusation of Sarah was after that date, the brother Averill was undoubtedly her brother Thomas Averill of Wells or York, Me.)

Salem Witchcraft, continued

The Testimony of Ephraim Wildes aged about 27 or thereabouts testifieth and saith that about fouer yeers a goe there was some likly hode of my having one of Goody Simonds dafter and as the maid towid me hur

mother and father were verily willing I should have haur but after some time I had a hint that Goodey Simonds had formerly said she believed my Mother had done her wrong and I went to hare and tock Marke how that is now dead who dyed at the Eastward along with me, and before both of us She denied that euer she had eney grounds to think eney halme of my Mother only from what Goodiey Redington had saide and afterwarde I left the house and went no more and euer since she bene veriey angrye with me and now she will reward me.

Ephraim Wildes

(Office Clerk of Courts Essex Co., Salem, Mass. The foregoing is a true copy of Original on file in this office. Attest Clerk.) p. 205.

This may inform this Honored Court that I Ephraim Wildes being Constabell for Topsfield this yere and the Marshall of Salem coming to fetch away my Mother he then shurd me a warrant from Authority directed to the Constabell of topsfield wherein was William Hobbs and Deluencee his wife with many others and the Marshall did then require me forthwith to goe and apprehend the bodies of William hobs and his wife which accordingly I did and I have had serceous thoughts many times sence whether my sening of them might not be some case of here thus acusing my Mother thereby in some measure to be revenged of me the woman did show a veriey bad spirit when sezed. we might all most se reveng in her face she looked so maliciously on mee As fore my Mother I never saw aney harm by har upon aney such a cont neither in word nor action as she is now acused for.

She hath awilais instructed me well in the Christian religion and the wais of God euer sence I was abell to take instruction And so I leve it all to this honord cort to consider of it. Ephraim Wildes

(Office Clerk of Courts Essex Co., Salem, Mass. The foregoing is a true copy of original on file in this office. Attest Clerk.)

(Death Warrant.) p. 498.

Warrant of Execution of Sarah Good, Rebecca Nurse, Ellis. How, Susanna Martin & Sarah Wildes, On Tuesday 19 July 1692.

(Office Clerk of Courts Essex County, Mass. The foregoing is a true copy of original on file in this office. Attest Clerk.)

Salem May 12th

Went May 13th to Boston

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 George Jacobs Sen ^r | 6 Bridget Bushop alias Oliver |
| 2 Giles Cory | 7 Sarah Wild |
| 3 (W ^m Hoba) | 8 Mary L. Nath putnam's negro |
| 4 Edw ^d Bushop | 9 Mary English |
| 5 Sarah Bushop his wife | 10 Alice parker |

11 Ann pudeater.

Woodward's *Salem Witchcraft*: p. 215 (?).

Reversal of Attainder October 17, 1711.

Province of the Massachusetts Bay.

Anna Regni Anna Regina Decimo.

An Act to reverse the attainders of George Burrough and others for Witchcraft. (Includes the names of "Mary Eastey Sarah Wild, and Abigail Hobbs all of Topsfield") Essex Dec. 1711.

Upham's Salem Witchcraft.

Vol. ii, p. 268. "The Court met again on Wednesday, the 29th of June (1692), and after trial, sentenced to death Sarah Good, Sarah Wildes, Elizabeth How, Susanna Martin, and Rebecca Nurse, who were all executed on the 19th of July" (1692).

Vol. ii, p. 480. "On the 17th of December, 1711, Governor Dudley issued his warrant for the purpose of carrying out a vote of the "General Assembly"; by and with the advice and consent of Her Majesty's Council, to pay the sum of £578, 12s. to such persons as are living, and to those that legally represent them that are dead; which sum was divided as follows:

(A list of 21 names, with the addition of wives of three men.) Among those mentioned were:

Rebecca Nurse	25.0.0.
Mary Easty	20.0.0.
Sarah Wildes	14.0.0.
Elizabeth How	12.0.0.

"The distribution . . . is as unjust and absurd as the smallness of the amount, and the long delay before it was ordered are discreditable to the province . . . The public mind evidently was not satisfied and the Legislature was pressed for a half century to make more adequate compensation and thereby vindicate the sentiment of justice and redeem the honor of the province."

Drakes' *Annals of Witchcraft in New England* (1869), p. 199, gives the following:

Sarah, wife of John Wildes of Topsfield was executed on the 19th of July having with four others been condemned on the 30th of June preceding. She was arrested about the 22nd of April and imprisoned till her execution.

The Gruff Denunciations and Demands to confess of the Court did not move her, and she died firmly denying all knowledge of the crime for which she suffered.

She was hanged with Rebecca Nurse and others on Gallows Hill in Salem.

Woodward's *Records* state that, Ephraim Wild son of "Sara" Wild, was paid the sum allowed by the Court to his

Mother's heirs £28.9.1711, at Ipswich (Court?), the sum being that previously stated, £14.0.0.

Upton says that the examination of Sarah Wilde had no peculiar features—"She maintained her innocence with dignity and firmness; and the Magistrate prejudging the case against her rebuked her obstinacy in not confessing, in his accustomed manner.

(The "widow pudeator," was Mrs. Ann Pudeator of Salem, widow of Mr. Jacob Pudeator, who was her second husband.

Her first husband, Mr. Greenslitt, or Greensleet, had died, leaving her with five children, among whom was a son, Thomas Greenslitt, and probably John, who are said to have been living in Casco Bay (Portland), Me., in 1692.

Thomas testified relative to Mr. Geo. Burrows, who had been executed; and he also was with his Mother during her trial and when she suffered the death penalty. (See *Upham* pp. 298, 329.)

She was probably about 70 years of age at the time of her death, and a woman of position and property, owning two estates in Salem on the North line of the Common. Her second husband, Mr. Jacob Pudeator ("Pud-e-tor"), or Poindexter, d. 1682 and by will gave her his whole estate after the payment of legacies of £5 to each of her Greenslitt Children.

She was regarded with affection and esteem. It is probable that John Averell married her granddaughter, as he was m. June 8, 1710, to an Ann Greenslitt, who has not yet been connected by any positive proof with any one of the name; these being the only Greenslitts known to us at this period, unless the wife of James Avery of Groton, Conn., and formerly of Gloucester, Mass., was also of this family.—Ed.)

PHILIP ENGLISH AND HIS WIFE.

Vol. xi. p. 133. The next victim of those arrested on the 21 (Apr. 1692), was Sarah Wildes. She too was of Topsfield and like Mrs. Easty behaved with all the firmness and dignity of innocence at her examination. (See *Acc't*.)

Sarah Wildes, like Mrs. Easty, was condemned and executed. She was one of the eleven sent to Boston jail on the 13. May (—), and in company with Mrs. English.

114 Averell, Averill, Avery Family

John Wildes by his wife Sarah¹ (Averell) Wildes had but one child:

Child:

- I. EPHRAIM¹ WILDES, b. — 1665, at Topsfield; m. March 18, 1688-9, to Mary Howlett.

MEMORANDA.

The children of John Wilde by his first wife, Priscilla Gould were:

- I. JOHN¹, b. 16—; lived at Topsfield; was a soldier; made his will Oct. 22, 1676, when going into the army, and in that document mentioned his five sisters and one brother, namely: Sarah (w. of Edward Bishop); Elizabeth (w. of Benjamin Jones); Phebe (w. of Timothy Day); Priscilla (w. of Henry Lake); Martha
He d. before 1677. (Will *Essex Co. Probate*.)
- II. SARAH¹, b. between 1648-56; m. before 1685. Edward Bishop of Salem.
- III. ELIZABETH¹, b. betw. 1648-56; m. Benj. Jones of Gloucester.
- IV. PHEBE¹, b. betw. 1648-56; m. Timothy Day of Gloucester.
- V. PRISCILLA¹, b. Apr. 6, 1658, at Topsfield; m. May 9, 1681, Henry Lake of Topsfield.
- VI. MARTHA¹, b. May 13, 1660, at Topsfield.
- VII. NATHAN¹, b. Dec. 14, 1662, at Topsfield; d. Mar. 17, 1662-3, at Topsfield.

(See *T. H. C.*)

Ephraim¹ Wildes (Sarah Averell¹, William¹), b. 1665, at Topsfield, Mass., m. Mar. 18, 1689 (*Ch. R.*), Mary Howlett¹ (dau. of Samuel Howlett of Topsfield, and Sarah Clarket his wife), prob. the Mary b. Feb. 17, 1671 (-2), *Ct. R.* at Topsfield (*V. R.*). "He served his father seven years, probably as an apprentice, after which he received all the Wildes Estate in Topsfield,"* both of his brothers having died many years before. He was Constable of Topsfield in 1692, when his Mother was accused of Witchcraft (see p. 110), and testified twice on her behalf, stating that she had always instructed him well in the Christian religion and the ways of God ever since he was able to take instruction. (When the passion and blindness of that

* Data given by W. G. Davis of Portland, Me., 1899.

† See *T. H. C.* (pub.); *The Howletts and Clarkes*, Vol. xi. p. 53.

On the 19. of July (1692), Mrs. Wilds was executed in company with Sarah Good, Rebecca Nurse of Salem, Elizabeth How of Ipswich and Susanna Martin of Amesbury.

Ipswich in the Mass. Bay Colony, by Thomas Franklin Waters, p. 296, gives the bill of Robert Lord, the blacksmith of Ipswich, "for making four payer of Iron fetters and tow payer of hand Cuffs and putting them on to ye legs and hands of Goodwife Cloyes, Estes, Bromidg and Green all att one pound

£ s d

eleven Shillings Money. 1 - 11 - 0. Rob^t Lord, Smith (July 1692).

The same page gives the account of John Harris, the Deputy-Sheriff, "of Sondry Charges at ye Courts of Irau terminar held at Sallem in ye yere 1692."

Among the items is the following: lb. s. d.
"for pressing of hores & man to gard me with.
ye wife of John Willes & ye widow pudeator from
Ipswich to Sallem myself & gard. 9 - 6 - "

No other facts have come to our knowledge about the late life of Sarah Wildes. She lived over thirty years in Topsfield as the wife of John Wildes, who survived her several years, he dying in 1705. For several years he was called affectionately "old father Wildes," even while strong enough to continue his services to the town with whose history he was so closely identified. His eldest son John had died many years before, and his son Ephraim had attained to a position of influence and importance, so that the father had gradually stepped out of an active life.

The family seem to have been in no way less esteemed because of their affliction, and continued to live in Topsfield; and Sarah Averell and John Wildes have today many descendants of whom they could be justly proud. Among many of distinction are

Capt. Wildes of the Boston in the late Cuban War; Hon. Asa W. Wildes of Newburyport, Mass., father of Col. A. W. Wildes of the Maine; Col. Henry Wildes of California, and Rev. George Dudley Wildes of New York (W. E. D., Portland, Me., 1899).

The Second Generation

time had passed he named a dau. after her [1699]). He was again Constable in 1693-4, and Treasurer of Topsfield, and filled other positions of trust in the service of his native town (see *T. H. C.*). He was Selectman 1689, and also Quartermaster, as the record of his death in *Topsfield V. R.* shows: "Quartermaster Ephraim Wildes Departed this Life April 2, 1725." His will made the day of his death provides plentifully for his wife and children.*

Children (all b. at Topsfield, see *T. H. C.*):

- I. JOHN¹, b. June 25, 1690; m. Phebe —, b. —, 1691-2.
- II. MARY¹, b. Mar. 13, 1691-2; m. Nov. 26, 1719, Thomas Perkins of Cape Porpoise, called Arundel, and now Kennebunkport, Me.
- III. EPHRAIM¹, b. Sept. 3, 1693; m. Jan. 31, 1730-1, Hepzibah Peabody.
- IV. JONATHAN¹, b. Oct. 21, 1695; m. Elizabeth —, b. —, 1697; m. Apr. 12, 1722, Benjamin Towne.
- VI. SARAH¹, b. Mar. 27, 1699; m. Jan. 21, 1718-19, Jonathan Perkins. She prob. d. "Jan. 21, 1719-20, a. 20y. 9m. 24d."; and he m. (2) at Salem, Elizabeth Potter (or Porter?) of Salem, Dec. 11, 1722.
- VII. DOROTHY¹, b. Dec. 15, 1700.
- VIII. JACOB¹, b. Aug. 31, 1702; "m. Ruth Foster abt. 1720."
- IX. PRISCILLA¹ (""), b. Aug. 12, 1704; d. Aug. 3, 1705.
- X. PRISCILLA¹ (""), b. Mar. 3, 1708; m. Jacob Averell (Nathan-iel).
- XI. SAMUEL¹, b. Mar. 2, 1708.
- XII. HANNAH¹, b. Oct. 8, 1709; m. Capt. Nathaniel Averell.
- XIII. AMOS¹, b. June 28, 1711; d. July 25, 1728.
- XIV. NATHAN¹, b. Aug. 5, 1713.
- XV. "JULIENEA¹", b. Feb. 21, 1716; d. Mar. 22, 1716-17.
- XVI. ELIJAH¹, b. Jan. 4, 1717-18; m. Anne Hovey.

* Data given by W. G. Davis of Portland, Me., 1899.

† In Bradbury's *Kennebunkport* it is stated that four of the brothers of Mary (Wildes) Perkins, wife of Thomas Perkins, were at the taking of Norrick-week; namely:—Ephraim, Jacob, Samuel and Jonathan Wildes. (These were g-nephews of William¹ and Thomas¹ Averell.) On this expedition they visited their sister and all of them removed to Arundel (Kennebunkport), Me. In 1728 . . . Jacob Wildes . . . and Samuel Wildes . . . were made proprietors of Arundel Co., York. (See *Early Records*, now at Kennebunkport.)



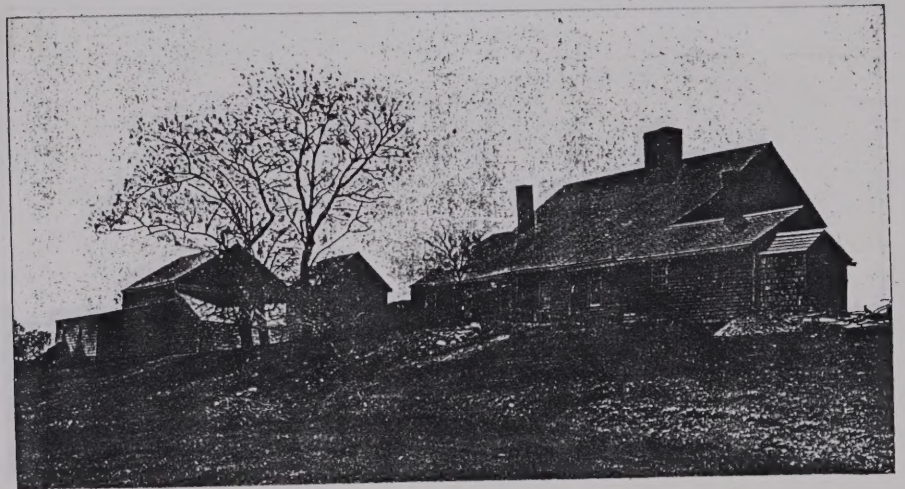
THE GEORGE JACOBS HOUSE.

ABOUT GEORGE JACOBS AND HIS HOUSE

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The article by Ezra Hines describes the house the Jacobs family was living in at the time of his arrest--built, incidentally, on land purchased on 11 Nov. 1658 from one of our Dodge family ancestors, Richard Waters.

Taken from Vol. I, Danvers
Historical Society Collections,
printed about 1890.



THE GEORGE JACOBS HOUSE. (REAR VIEW)



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Sarah Averill Wildes, sister of our ancestor Will Averill, Jr., was hung as a witch in 1692. So was 76 year old George Jacobs, Sr. The next year her widower, John Wildes, married his widow, Mrs. Mary Jacobs.

The article by Ezra Hines describes the house the Jacobs family was living in at the time of his arrest--built, incidentally, on land purchased on 11 Nov. 1658 from one of our Dodge family ancestors, Richard Waters.



THE GEORGE JACOBS HOUSE. (REAR VIEW)

Henry Cooke, Thomas Gardner, George Williams, John Small, Ralph Tompkins and perhaps others. Near his house ran a highway to the waters of the Wooleston river. Not far away was the Great Cove, which is still called by that name. Here George Jacobs lived the ordinary life of a farmer, with his share of pleasure and of sorrow, and he was no doubt a good neighbor and kind friend.

Pass over some thirty or more years, after Mr. Jacobs procured this home and came to the North fields to live, and picture the scene. The spring time of 1692 has come, and nature as ever, is bright and gay. The trees are putting forth leaf, and later will come the flowers. It is, however, the last spring time on earth that George Jacobs will behold. He is now an old man, extremely old, he is feeble, too, and supports himself with two canes as he moves about. He has lived beyond the three score years and ten allotted by the Psalmist, having exceeded that limit by ten years or more. His active life is over, and he has now reached a time when he can enjoy rest and quiet, and we may well believe, as he sits in this old home, or walks over the acres of his farm, that the recollection of events in his early life are passing through his mind. Indeed, he is in a retrospective mood; and later, after thinking of the past and realizing that now the cares and toils of life are nearly over,—that past is for the time being forgotten,—and now he eagerly gazes forward with faith and hope into that unknown future, to which his steps are fast tending. He may think that as now his hair is thin and white and upon his brow there is a record of many years' cares, now ended, that it is his time to die; but it was a natural death that he no doubt desired. Alas! how different was his departure from the world!

Such, we may believe, was the condition of George Jacobs when those dreadful black clouds hovered over Salem Village, and Salem, and at last broke in all their fury upon the people; that fearful delusion which we call Salem Witchcraft and into which whirlpool, George Jacobs, without any fault of his, was drawn. A finger pointed to him, aye, several fingers, as a wizard, and this old man was seized, and afterward condemned. On May 10, 1692, there comes a man to this old home. He comes armed with authority, he comes to arrest George Jacobs, Sr., and other members of his family. Mr. Jacobs may have been out of doors somewhere on the farm, or in the old house, but as soon as apprehended, the officer reads the following warrant:

"To the Constables of Salem. You are in their Majests names hereby required to apprehend and forthwith bring before vs George Jacobs Senr. of Salem, And Margaret Jacobs the daughter of George Jacobs Junr. of Salem, Singlewoman, Who stand accused of high suspicion of sundry acts of witchcraft by them both committed on sundry persons in Salem, to their great wrong and Injury, and hereof faile not. Dated Salem, May 10th, 1692.

John Hathorne }
Jonathan Corwin } Assistants

To constable Joseph Neale."

And this is the return of the constable:

"May ye 10th 1692. Then I Apprehended the Bodies of George Jacobs Senr and Margaret Jacobs, daughter of George Jacobs Junr. Both of Salem, According to the Tenor of the Aboue warrant p me

"Joseph Neale Constable in Salem."

Consider the effect the reading of this warrant must have produced upon this old man over four-score years of age. It takes but little imagination to believe that he must have been shocked, stunned; it seems as though he must have broken down completely. To think that he must go with this man, that he, as it were, almost ready to die, must leave this old home perhaps never again to enter it,—which proved to be the case,—must have filled his mind with sorrow and caused tears to trickle down his aged cheeks. But there was no alternative, he must go, he must obey. He was taken into Salem town for examination. Here he was subjected on the same day to a most rigid questioning. When accused of acts of witchcraft, he replied, "I never did it," and when asked who did it, his answer was, "Don't ask me."

"Why should we not ask you?" Sarah Churchill accuseth you, there she is." "I am as innocent as the child born tonight. I have lived 33 years here in Salem."

In answer to another question, he said:

"I never wronged no man, in word or deed."

Near the close of examination, evidently tired, and almost broken down, and yet, never more firm in the assertion of his innocence, he replied, "Well, burn me or hang me, I will stand in the truth of Christ. I know nothing of it."

He is examined a second time on the next day, and soon afterward is taken to Boston jail, where he is confined with others for about six weeks. He is then brought back to Salem, and confined in the jail here, until the day of his

trial before the great court of Oyer and Terminer, presided over by Lt. Gov. Stoughton. He is convicted, and is once more sent to jail, to await the day of his execution.

Something now in relation to Margaret Jacobs, the granddaughter of George Jacobs, Sr., who was arrested at the same time. Her experience while confined in jail was a severe one. In her endeavor to save her own life, she verified the teachings of holy writ, and indeed, while yet living in the flesh, lost her own life. She made a declaration or confession, in which she accused her feeble old grandfather of being guilty of witchcraft. She also accused Rev. George Burroughs of being guilty of the same. How she suffered for this cruel and wicked act of becoming a false witness and testifying against her grandfather, to whom she was so closely bound by those tender ties of relationship and of love! She finally recanted, saying, "I was told, if I would not confess, I should be put down into the dungeon and would be hanged; but if I would confess, I should have my life—the which, did so affright me, with my own vile wicked heart, to save my life, made me make the like confession I did, which confession may it please the honored court is altogether false and untrue. The very first night after I had made confession, I was in such horror of conscience that I could not sleep, for fear the Devil should carry me away for telling such horrid lies. What I said against my grandfather and Mr. Burroughs, was altogether false, which I did to save my life, and to have my liberty, but the Lord charging it to my conscience, made me in so much horror that I could not contain myself before I had denied my confession, which I did, though I saw nothing but death before me, choosing rather death with a quiet conscience, than to live in such horror, which I could not suffer."

Regret as one may her accusations, we must ever hold her in high honor for the withdrawal of these charges. This recantation she read before the court. A temporary illness led to the postponement of her trial, and before the next sitting of the court, the delusion had passed away. She visited Mr. Burroughs the day before his execution, and he freely forgave her, and prayed with her, and for her. It is thought that she may have seen her grandfather on the same day and implored his forgiveness also. Be that so or not, it is evident that her grandfather heard with joy of her conduct, and having made his will on the 12th of August, a week before his execution, he afterward crowded into a space between two paragraphs, in small letters, closely written, a clause, giving her a legacy of "ten pounds to be paid in silver." The will,

however, was inoperative, having been made after conviction. The General Court, however, nearly twenty years afterward, endeavored to have the same paid out of the Province treasury. Margaret Jacobs lived many years after the days of the witchcraft delusion.

And now comes the final scene. It is August 19th, 1692. To the old jail in Salem is brought a cart in which are placed Rev. George Burroughs, John Willard, John Proctor, Martha Carrier and George Jacobs, Sr. Through the streets of Salem moves this vehicle on its way to the hill of execution, ever since, the hill of sorrow. A great number of spectators are present witnessing to their death. Cotton Mather is there strong in the denunciation of these people, and eager for their execution. So are Revs. Hale and Noyes, and many others. All of the accused have asserted their innocence, but listen, ere the fatal moment arrives, Rev. George Burroughs, in the presence of the people assembled, lifts his voice in a dying prayer to his Father and his God, closing by repeating the Lord's prayer, thus proving conclusively to many his innocence, as it was asserted that no witch or wizard could repeat the Lord's prayer. No evidence has come down to us whether George Jacobs, Sr., uttered any farewell, by speech or prayer. Firm and heroic in life, it cannot be doubted, that he was such in death. 'Tis over now, the last act has been accomplished, and the darkness of night has fallen, to cover, for a time at least the wicked deeds of the children of men. No! this was not the final act in this sad affair! There was another and a brighter, which it is well to remember.

Of times on a summer afternoon, near the close of day, dark clouds gather in the western sky, which, later break apart, and reveal to view the Sun, slowly sinking in the west enveloped in a blaze of golden splendour, so on that dreadful day, the great black clouds then hanging over and about the community, parted, just long enough to show the performance of a beautiful, heroic, loving and tender act—so tradition says, and a tradition that has come down from the past, bearing the stamp of truth. A grandson of George Jacobs, after his execution, took from the place where it had been thrown down, the body of his revered and honored grandfather, and carefully strapping the form upon his horse's back, slowly and sadly, wended his way to the old house and farm, where beneath the shade of the trees which this old man had grown and nurtured, and under the sods, over which his feet had so often trod,—the body was tenderly and reverently laid away,—a loving deed, performed by loving hands.

On the next page see a literal translation of the court documents in Sarah's case--what remains of them. Writer has stuck mostly to original spellings and phraseology. The only words changed were entirely archaic. They had no letter "s" as we know it, but used the letter "f" so that was changed throughout.

They were arrested on 22 April, the next day, and the frail, elderly Sarah was dragged off and thrown in jail with the others. There was no heat, only dank ground, filth, and noise. She was tried before the second sitting of the court on 30 July, 1692 along with Sarah Good, Rebecca Nurse (an even older relative of ours), Susanna Martin, and Elizabeth Howe. None would confess, but all were condemned.

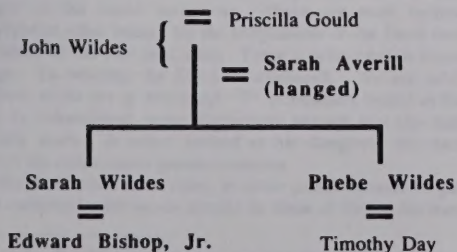
On 19 July there was a long procession through the streets, thronged by onlookers, some high on buildings, to watch the grisly scene wherein Sarah and the others were hauled off to Gallows Hill, and "there, upon trees, their lives were taken." All protested their innocence to the end.

The following year, on 26 June 1693, widower John Wildes married Mary Jacobs, the widow of 76-year old George Jacobs, who was hung 19 August 1692 along with John Willard, John Proctor, and Rev. George Burroughs. They were later thrown into the pit so hastily that one leg was left sticking out.

John thus became a grand father of 16-year old Margaret Jacobs, who had declared in writing that she was threatened with the dungeon and hanging if she refused to confess. Nevertheless, young Margaret's life was spared only because she had an "imposthume" on her forehead (what they thought was a fatal tumor). George, Jr. and wife Rebecca Jacobs were also accused (see Xeroxed pages).

The following chart is from the book, "Salem Witchcraft & Hawthorne's House of the Seven Gables" By Enders A. Robinson. Several other pages from that book which you will probably find interesting have been copied and shrunk to save space, and are included in this report.

SALEM WITCHCRAFT GENEALOGY



Phoebe Wildes, born about 1653, was the daughter of Priscilla (Gould) and John Wildes of Topsfield. After her mother's death her father married, in 1663, Sarah Averill. Phoebe's father was one of the Topsfield men disliked by the Salem Village accusers. In 1679, Phoebe Wildes married Timothy Day of Gloucester and took up life in that town.

In 1692 Phoebe, 39, her husband, and their six children were living in Gloucester on the westerly side of the Annisquam River. On April 22, 1692, her sister, Sarah (Wildes) Bishop; her brother-in-law, Edward Bishop, Jr.; and her stepmother, Sarah (Averill) Wildes, were imprisoned. On July 19 her stepmother was hanged at Salem. In early October 1692, Phoebe (Wildes) Day was imprisoned at Ipswich prison. Phoebe was one of the signers of the petition from that prison in December. There are no further extant court records. On June 26, 1693, Phoebe's father, John Wildes, married Mary (mnu) Jacobs, widow of George Jacobs, Sr., who had been hanged at Salem on August 19, 1692

committed, some thirty Andover persons to prisons for supposed witchcrafts. Now, on September 7, Dudley Bradstreet dutifully wrote out the arrest warrants for the eighteen who were accused in the touch test. Finally, however, he understood that the leading citizens of Andover were being targeted. In the settlement of Andover, it had been first come, first serve; Johnny-come-lately was given the crumbs, small farms on marginal land. The controlling elite—those who gained their large landholdings by the good fortune of being the town's first settlers—were now under attack. The Barkers, the third ranking family, and the Osgoods, the second ranking family, had been accused. The Bradstreets were the first ranking family; would they be next?

Dudley Bradstreet came to his senses. His warrants had put in jail nearly fifty Andover citizens. After the touch test, he refused to grant out any more warrants. Soon after his decision, Dudley Bradstreet and his wife, Ann, were cried out upon. The afflicted claimed he had killed nine persons by witchcraft. In response, Bradstreet and his wife found escape their safest course and in short order they fled from Massachusetts. "Captain [Dudley] Bradstreet and Mr. [Ephraim] Stevens are complained of by the afflicted, have left the town, and do abscond," wrote Thomas Brattle on October 8, 1692.²¹³

211 Calef, *More Wonders*, 268. Despite their claimed spectral sight, these other children were never admitted to the privileged Andover afflicted circle made up entirely of children of the conspirators.

212 Provided the case had merit, an arrest warrant would be granted out by a justice or magistrate in response to a written, legal complaint filed by one or more accusers.

213 Brattle, "Letter of October 8, 1692," in Burr, *Narratives*, 180.

believing their children to be witches, and many husbands their wives, etc."²¹⁴

Not until their wives and children were in prison, did the minds of these men begin to clear. They then realized that they had been deceived by the fanaticism of their younger minister, Thomas Barnard. These good men of Andover now began to comprehend the full implications of the storm raging in their midst. They turned to their older minister, the Rev. Francis Dane, and formed a resistance movement. Under his guidance they started to take the strong steps required to free the imprisoned members of their families.

214 Calef, *More Wonders*, 268.

154 SALEM WITCHCRAFT HISTORY

on constant guard against sin for the Devil was always lurking in the shadows.

On Wednesday morning, September 7, 1692, the Rev. Thomas Barnard called certain members of his flock to the meetinghouse. Husbands accompanied their wives; some children were also invited. Those summoned were of impeccable standing in the community. Elders of the church came; among them were the most avid of Barnard's supporters: Captain Dudley Bradstreet and his wife Ann; Captain John Osgood and his wife, Mary; Deacon John Frye and his wife, Eunice.²⁰³ Barnard's wife, Elizabeth, came the short distance from the parsonage to the meetinghouse. Elizabeth was the daughter of Dudley Bradstreet's wife, Ann.²⁰⁴ When the people arrived, they found the Andover circle of afflicted girls already in the meetinghouse. Most of the congregation were absent. The men were working in the fields or at their trades; the women and children were at work in their households.

The Rev. Barnard opened the meeting with prayer. He delivered a short message reminiscent of a recent sermon given by Cotton Mather. "The Devil in his temptations will set the delight of the world before us. There are most hellish blasphemies often buzzed by the temptations of the Devil into the minds of the best men alive. There is witchcraft in those things. To worship the Devil is witchcraft. We are told, *Rebellion is the sin of Witchcraft*."²⁰⁵ A husband looked at his wife; he remembered some disobedient remark that she had recently made. A father looked at his daughter; she had resisted his authoritarian pronouncements.

His charismatic force rising to fever pitch, Barnard might have continued with words similar to those of Cotton Mather,

SALEM WITCHCRAFT



The house of the Rev. Thomas Barnard in North Andover

203 Dudley Bradstreet, John Osgood, and John Frye were sons of first proprietors of Andover. Dudley Bradstreet, 44, was the son of Ann (Dudley) and Simon Bradstreet. John Osgood, 62, was the son of Sarah (Booth) and John Osgood, Sr. John Frye, 59, was the son of Anne (Stratton) and John Frye, Sr.

204 Dudley Bradstreet's wife, Ann (Woods) Price Bradstreet, had been the widow of Thomas Price. In 1686, the Rev. Thomas Barnard, 28, took Ann's daughter, Elizabeth Price, as his wife.

205 Cotton Mather, *Wonders*, 192-195.

Danforth, all had been members of the old Court of Oyer and Terminer. The three Salem magistrates—John Hathorne, Jonathan Corwin, and Bartholomew Gedney—were not on the new court; these were the three who had been most active in confiscating property. Peter Sergeant was also not on the new court.

At the height of the witchcraft mania, accusers and accused were counted by scores. Andover was the first town to recover its senses. By October a resistance movement led by the Rev. Francis Dane and other prominent townspeople began to act. They chose to work through normal political channels by filing petitions with the governor and the courts.

The resistance first turned its attention to the imprisoned children of Andover. Its efforts were successful; the authorities let the Andover families post recognizance bonds for the release of their children on bail. The first children were set free on October 6. By October 15 eighteen of the nineteen imprisoned Andover children (aged 18 and under) were out of prison on bail.²⁷⁷ Only Rebecca Johnson, Jr., aged 17, remained in prison to take care of her sick mother. About December 8 she and her mother were released on bail.

The release of the Andover women proved more difficult. On October 12, 1692, nine leading men of Andover addressed a petition to the General Court on behalf of their wives and children. The nine men spoke of the prisoners' condition—"a company of poor distressed creatures as full of inward grief and trouble as they are able to bear up in life withal." They referred to the want of "food convenient" for them, and stated that "the coldness of the winter season that is coming may soon dispatch

277 Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, 230. The eighteen children released in October were William Barker, Jr., Mary Barker, Sarah Bridges, Mary Bridges, Jr., Richard Carrier, Andrew Carrier, Thomas Carrier, Jr., Sarah Carrier, Dorothy Faulkner, Abigail Faulkner, Jr., Stephen Johnson, Abigail Johnson, Mary Lacey, Jr., John Sadie, Hannah Tyler, Martha Tyler, Joanna Tyler, and Sarah Wilson, Jr. Mercy Wardwell was not included; she had turned nineteen on October 3, 1692, just three days before October 6, when the first of the children were released.

godliness." The petition admits that "most of our people that have been apprehended for witchcraft have upon examination confessed it." However, it stated that there was "reason to think that the extreme urgency that was used with some of them by their friends and others who privately examined them, and the fear they were then under, hath been an inducement to them to admit such things." This represented the first attempt at a public explanation of the witchcraft confessions. Upon just such confessions had Cotton Mather and others justified the entire witchcraft proceedings.

The petition continued with a direct attack against the afflicted children or, more precisely, against the influence of the Devil on those children. "Our troubles we foresee are likely to continue and increase, if other methods be not taken then as yet have been; and we know not who can think himself safe, if the accusations of children and others who are under a diabolical influence shall be received against persons of good fame."²⁷⁹ It was safer to point the finger at the afflicted girls than at their fathers and stepfathers who made up the conspiracy of accusers. Puritan teaching dictated that the basic tenet of a witchcraft plot could not be disturbed. The blame for any mistakes incurred had to be laid upon the Devil; the men carrying out the crime went scot-free. The existence of the Devil was not only of theological interest, but of practical use as well.

On December 6, 1692, eight Andover men petitioned on behalf of their wives and friends in prison. During their imprisonment they "have been exposed to great sufferings, which daily increase by reason of the winter coming on and they are in extreme danger of perishing." The petitioners asked that the prisoners be permitted to come home on "such terms as your honors may judge meet."²⁸⁰

Still the women of Andover were in jail. However the efforts of the Andover resistance were starting to take effect. The

such out of the way that have not been used to such hardships." They told of the calamitous effects of their absence from their families who were at the same time required to maintain them in jail. They prayed that the prisoners might be released on bail, "to remain as prisoners under bond in their own houses, where they may be more tenderly cared for."²⁷⁸

A few weeks earlier, some of these men, whipped into a frenzy of religious fervor at the Andover touch test, had been duped into encouraging their wives and daughters to confess. Others who may have been skeptical of the charming words of Barnard nonetheless joined rank, their purpose being to urge confession in the hope of leniency. Now, following the recent execution of the eight condemned witches, and with their wives next in line for the hangman, these men awoke to their terrible mistake. Their frightened children at home wanted to know when their mothers and sisters would return. At once the men fell solidly behind the Rev. Dane in his efforts to reverse the damage they had done while under the powerful spell of the Rev. Barnard.

The Rev. Thomas Barnard, in what appears as a total about-face, gladly jumped in to join the Rev. Francis Dane's crusade to free the prisoners. Here Barnard displayed his uncanny knack for shifting ground at precisely the critical moment. It was a shift, however, that would have been a simple matter for a man devoid of principle. On October 18, 1692, the Rev. Barnard joined with the Rev. Dane and twenty-four citizens of Andover to address a petition to the Governor and General Court. "Several of the women that are accused are members of this church in full communion, and had obtained a good report of blameless conversation, and their walking as becometh women professing

278 Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, 225-235. The nine men signing the petition of October 12 were "John Osgood in behalf of his wife; John Frye in behalf of his wife; John Marston in behalf of his wife; Mary Marston; Christopher Osgood in behalf of his daughter, Mary Marston; Joseph Wilson in behalf of his wife and daughter; John Bridges in behalf of his wife and children; Hopeskill Tyler in behalf of his wife and daughter; Ebenezer Barker for his wife; Nathaniel Dane for his wife." Hopeskill's daughters, Joanna and Martha Tyler, had already been released on bail, about October 6.

released on bail.²⁸¹ Husbands and kinsmen had to post stiff recognizance bonds which would be forfeited if the released prisoners did not appear at the meeting of the Superior Court of Judicature scheduled for January 3, 1693. The rest of the Andover women had to remain in prison.

Attention turned to the upcoming trials. Because no further arrests were being made, Dudley Bradstreet ventured out of hiding and made his return to Andover. In late December 1692, Dudley Bradstreet, the Rev. Dane, the Rev. Barnard, thirty-eight other men, and twelve women drew up a petition that was presented to the Superior Court of Judicature at Salem at its opening session on January 3, 1693. The petition was on behalf of Mary (Clement) Osgood, Eunice (Potter) Frye, Deliverance (Haseltine) Dane, Sarah (Lord) Wilson, and Abigail (Wheeler) Barker. These women, all church members and part of the Andover elite, had been arrested together at the Andover touch test. "When these women were accused by some afflicted persons of the neighborhood, their relations and others, through a misrepresentation of the truth of that evidence, took great pains to persuade them to own what they were, by the afflicted, charged with and indeed did unreasonably urge them to confess themselves guilty. By the unwearied solicitations of those that privately discoursed them both at home and at Salem, they were at length persuaded publicly to own what they were charged with. Now though we cannot but judge it a thing very sinful for innocent persons to own a crime that they are not guilty of, yet considering the well-ordered conversation of those women while they lived among us, and what they now seriously and constantly affirm in a more composed frame, we cannot but in charity judge them innocent of the great transgression that has been imputed to them." The petition went on to speak for the other Andover imprisoned. "As for the rest of our neighbors, who are under the like circumstances with these that have been named, we can

the person was also served as a selectman.

On September 7, 1692, Eunice (Potter) Frye was arrested at the Andover touch test and imprisoned in Salem. Deacon John Frye soon became an active member of the Andover resistance and signed the petitions of October 12 and December 6 for the release of his wife and others on bail. On December 20 Deacon John Frye and Captain John Osgood were allowed to post recognizance bonds for the release on bail of their wives, Eunice (Potter) Frye and Mary (Clement) Osgood. The two women had been in prison for 15 weeks.

On January 3, 1693, the grand jury at the Superior Court of Judicature at Salem indicted Eunice Frye but she was not brought to trial at that time. On January 12 John Osgood and James Frye posted a recognizance bond for her continued freedom on bail. On May 10, 1693 in a trial by jury at the Superior Court of Judicature at Ipswich, Eunice Frye was found not guilty.

Samuel Frye, the son of Ann (Stratton) and John Frye, Sr., was born in 1649 and married Mary Aslet in 1671. At the end of September 1692 Mary and Samuel Frye took William Wardwell, twelve-year-old son of the executed Samuel Wardwell and the imprisoned Sarah Wardwell, to live in their family until he was twenty-one and to teach him the trade of weaver.³⁷¹

BRADSTREET FAMILY

Dudley Bradstreet

Married man, 44

Andover

Cried out upon after September 7, 1692

Captain Dudley Bradstreet, 44, was the son of Anne (Dudley) and Simon Bradstreet.³⁷² Dudley Bradstreet and his wife, Ann (Wood) Price Bradstreet, were the foremost residents of Andover, both 44 years old in 1692. Dudley had served in every important

371 William and Dorothy (Wright) Wardwell are five-times-great grandparents of the writer.

372 On May 14, 1692 Simon Bradstreet, the elected governor of Massachusetts, was replaced by the royal governor, Sir William Phipps, appointed by the crown.

serving as Andover's representative to the General Court and was Andover's justice of the peace.³⁷³ In that judicial capacity he signed arrest warrants and examined some of the accused. "He seems to deprecate the necessity laid upon him, and to disclaim any judgment in the matter. He evidently, though humane and not so credulous as many in regard to the wild stories current, had not the determination and strength that characterize the minister, Mr. Dane."³⁷⁴

After the Andover touch test on September 7, 1692, Dudley Bradstreet refused to sign any more arrest warrants. The afflicted girls then started to cry out upon him and his wife. They quickly escaped from town. For that reason his name appears neither on the Andover petitions nor the selectmen decisions that fall. However by the end of December, Dudley Bradstreet had returned to Andover. His name is the first name on the Andover petition presented to the Superior Court of Judicature on January 3, 1693.

John Bradstreet

Married man, 40

Topsfield

Cried out upon after September 7, 1692

In 1692 the younger brother of Dudley, John Bradstreet, 40, lived in Topsfield. His wife, Sarah (Perkins) Bradstreet, 35, was a niece of Mary (Perkins) Bradbury who was condemned on September 9 but then escaped from prison. Her escape was possible because of the intercessions of some high officials, who most likely included the Bradstreets. A Salem Village dog became afflicted. The girls with their spectral sight were sent for and behold, they saw the specter of John Bradstreet riding on the back of the dog. They cried out upon John saying that he was the cause of the dog's afflictions. John wisely fled to New Hampshire. *The dog was put to death, this act was inconsistent because the dog did not afflict anyone but was afflicted.*

373 A representative was a member of the lower legislative body (the House of Representatives); on the other hand, an assistant to the governor (like John Hathorne) was a member of the upper legislative body (the Board of Assistants, later called the Council). Justice of the peace was a judicial office below that of a magistrate.

374 Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, 224.

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LIST OF THE ACCUSED

May 28	Wilmot (mnu) Redd, 55, Marblehead	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; executed Sept. 22
May 28	Sarah (mnu) Davis Rice, 61, Reading	Imprisoned
May 28	William Proctor, 17, Salem Farms	Imprisoned; cleared Jan. 1693
May 28	Elizabeth (Jackson) Howe, 54, Topsfield	Imprisoned; condemned June 30; executed July 19
May 28	Arthur Abbot, 53, Topsfield	Imprisoned
May 28	Martha (Allen) Carrier, 38, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; executed Aug. 19
May 28	Mary (Allen) Toothaker, 47, Billerica	Imprisoned; found not guilty Feb. 1, 1693
May 28	Margaret Toothaker, 9, Billerica	Imprisoned
June 2	Elizabeth (Carrington) Paine, 53, Charlestown	Imprisoned
June 1	Sarah Churchill, 20, Salem Village	Briefly imprisoned; then released as an afflicted person
June 4	Mary (Leach) Ireson, 32, Lynn	Imprisoned
June 4	Job Tookey, 27, Beverly	Imprisoned; found not guilty on Jan. 5, 1693
June 6	Ann (Higginson) Dolliver, 29, Gloucester	Imprisoned
June 28	Mary (Perkins) Bradbury, 75, Salisbury	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; escaped
July 1	Margaret (mnu) Hawkes, Salem Town	Imprisoned
July 1	Candy, female slave, Salem Town	Imprisoned; found not guilty on Jan. 6, 1693
c. July 15	Elizabeth Scargen	Imprisoned
c. July 15	child of Elizabeth Scargen	Imprisoned; died in prison

ARREST PHASE OF ANDOVER WITCH HUNT

July 15, 1692	Ann (mnu) Foster, 72, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; reprieved; died in prison Dec. 1692
July 19	Mary (Foster) Lacey, 40, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; reprieved; pardoned in 1693

LIST OF THE ACCUSED

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July 19	Mary Lacey, Jr., 18, Andover	Imprisoned 10 weeks; released on bail Oct. 6; found not guilty Jan. 13, 1693
July 21	Richard Carrier, 18, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail mid October
July 21	Andrew Carrier, 15, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail mid October
July 22	Martha (Toothaker) Emerson, 24, Haverhill	Imprisoned; cleared Jan. 12, 1693
July 28	Mary (Tyler) Post Bridges, 48, Andover	Imprisoned; found not guilty Jan. 12, 1693
July 30	Hannah (mnu) Tyler Brumidge, 60, Haverhill	Imprisoned in Ipswich prison; cleared Jan. 1693
July 30	Mary (Green) Green, 34, Haverhill	Imprisoned in Ipswich prison; released on bail, Dec. 16
c. Aug. 1	Rebecca (Blake) Eames, 51, Boxford	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; reprieved; released Mar. 1693 after 7 months in prison
Aug. 2	Mary Post, 28, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Jan. 12, 1693; reprieved; released April 1693 after more than 8 months in prison
Aug. 3	Mary (Johnson) Davis Clarke, 53, Haverhill	Imprisoned in Ipswich prison
Aug. 5	Margaret (Stevenson) Scott, 72, Beverly	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; executed Sept. 22
c. Aug. 9	Daniel Eames, 29, Boxford	Imprisoned
c. Aug. 10	Thomas Carrier, Jr., 10, Andover	Imprisoned; Released on bail Oct. 6
c. Aug. 10	Sarah Carrier, 7, Andover	Imprisoned; Released on bail Oct. 6
Aug. 10	Elizabeth Johnson Jr., 22, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Jan. 12, 1693; reprieved; imprisoned 6 months; released Feb. 1693

Sarah Wildes, white, age 63. *Witchcraft*. This woman was born in England, one of seven children of William and Abigail Averill. She came to Massachusetts with her parents at the age of eight and grew up at Ipswich in circumstances of penury. By the age of 20 she had been sent to the town whipping post at least one time for fornication. By age 26 she was bereaved of both parents and at the abnormally late age of 34 she married for her first and only time.

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For reasons long forgotten the new Goody Wildes was loathed by the kin of her husband's first wife. She was especially repugnant to the dead woman's brother and sister, John Gould and Mary Gould Reddington by name. They may have frowned upon the fact that Sarah came from a poor family. There might have been hard feelings over what became of the first wife's possessions. The possibilities are numerous. Whatever the case, it was the Gould family that was chiefly responsible for branding Sarah Wildes with the infamy of a witch.

The allegations of witchcraft are traceable to around 1670 when one of Sarah's stepsons suffered an illness which could not be explained. The boy recovered but his maternal aunt, Mary Gould Reddington, so hated his stepmother, Sarah Wildes, that she used the event as an excuse to malign her. Within days the whole community was abuzz with gossip and as the years passed the poisonous seeds sowed by Mary Gould Reddington grew and mutated until the name of Sarah Wildes was anathema to God-fearing people.

For instance, one harvest day in 1674 two teenaged brothers named John and Joseph Andrews came to Sarah's house and asked her if they might borrow a scythe. The woman refused their request. However, as they were turning to leave a bystander noticed a scythe hanging nearby which belonged to one of Sarah's stepsons and bade the lads take it on condition that they obtain permis-

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The gossip over this incident nettled Sarah Wildes. It also set off a feud between her and the Andrews family. One day in 1679 the mother and sister of the Andrews boys encountered Sarah Wildes on the road. The mother used the occasion to pick an argument with Wildes. She accused her of putting a hex on her boys. Sarah responded in a cocky manner which prompted Mother Andrews to call her daughter to her side. Then according to the daughter's account of the incident, Sarah Wildes gave her the "evil eye." "Immediately I did fall into such a trembling condition that I was as if all my joints did knock together so that I could hardly go along," recounted the daughter, whose name was Elizabeth Andrews Symonds. She also embellished her story further by saying that the spectral form of Sarah Wildes had come to her bedroom in the night for no good purpose.

A week later Elizabeth Andrews Symonds encountered Sarah Wildes in the local meetinghouse and once again claimed to feel the malignant effects of the evil eye. "As I was sitting in my seat," said Elizabeth Andrews Symonds, "Goodwife Wildes came by and I was immediately taken with such a pain in my back that I was not able to bear it and fell down in the seat. I did not know where I was and some people carried me out of the meetinghouse. But I knew nothing of it until afterwards when I came to myself. A great many people came about me to ask what was the matter with me. Goodwife Wildes came and stood at the end of the table and I replied and said, 'There she is!' and my mother bade me go and scratch her but I could not stir."

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Ann Pudeater, white, age 70. *Witchcraft*. One of the most flagrant examples of how the Salem witch hunt was used to destroy an unpopular individual may be found in the case of Ann Pudeater, an aging widow who had scandalized her community.

Originally Ann hailed from parts unknown. Her first traceable appearance is at Salem in 1673 as a matron named Ann Greenslitt. She also had five grown children by then. Within a year of her arrival at Salem, her husband, Thomas Greenslitt, was dead and she was left to her own resources. Consequently Ann took to hiring herself out as a nurse.

About eight years before the Greenslitts came to Salem there appeared at that town a 24-year-old blacksmith named Jacob Pudeater. In the autumn of 1666 this young man married an alcoholic named Isabelle Mossier and went downhill from there. By 1670 he was miserable and his wife was well on her way to drinking herself to death, finally succeeding four years later.

Ann Greenslitt by that time, 1677, was well established in her capacity of a nurse for hire and it was she who attended the deathbed of Isabelle Mossier Pudeater. No sooner had the dying woman breathed her last than Ann Greenslitt and Jacob Pudeater announced their intention to marry. At once there were rumors of improprieties. It was said that the newly engaged couple had been carrying on adulterously. Some of the more vicious gossips even said that the couple had hurried the demise of the dead woman by plying her with poisoned rum. The fact that Ann Greenslitt Pudeater was old enough to be her new husband's mother did not look good either. In fact, so critical did public opinion become that a formal

inquest was held on the death of Isabelle Mossier Pudeater three years after the fact. By then, however, Jacob and Ann were happily married — much to the disgust of their neighbors.

The couple survived the Court of Inquiry — again to the disgust of their neighbors. By then, however, Jacob Pudeater was living on borrowed time. He died in the autumn of 1681 at the age of 39, leaving Ann and her children as his principal heirs. His untimely death also added to the luridness of his wife's reputation. Ann was reviled as an opportunist who had slyly made away with her husband's first wife, then inveigled the man into naming her as his heir and then rid herself of him as well.

Although the precise means through which Ann Greenslitt was alleged to have murdered her way into the Pudeater estate is not known to have been specified at the time, it would seem likely that poison was thought to be her weapon. This is because a certain line of questioning at her 1692 arraignment attempted to zero in on certain "ointments and oils" she was known to possess — nearly 20 separate vials of suspicious substances. In her defense, Ann claimed that those items were merely lards which she used for making soap. She was not believed.

It must also be borne in mind that in the 17th century poisoning was regarded as a close cousin to witchcraft. Hence it is not surprising to find allegations of black magic in the case of Ann Greenslitt Pudeater.

A militiaman named Jeremiah Neal told of how his wife had been ill with the smallpox at a time when he had let Ann Pudeater borrow a mortar. Soon regretting his generosity, he asked for the mortar's return. As a result, said he, the smallpox proved fatal to his wife.

There was also a report that Ann Pudeater caused the death of a Goodwife Best through infernal means. There were tales of her spectral image flitting by

men in the street. She was said to have tempted a recalcitrant witch with images of prospective victims and to have stuck thorns into those same images. She was even accused of using witchcraft to make a man fall out of a cherry tree.

Ann Pudeater fought back with remarkable acumen, especially after she had been condemned. She prepared a petition in which she raised a substantial point that one of her accusers was a convicted perjurer. How then, she asked, could that person's word be taken as evidence to deprive her of her life? No answer was given to her petition. Ann Pudeater was hanged at Salem on September 22, 1692.

Another page from
Legal Executions in
New England 1623-1960
by Daniel A. Hearn

This elderly victim
of the witchcraft
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